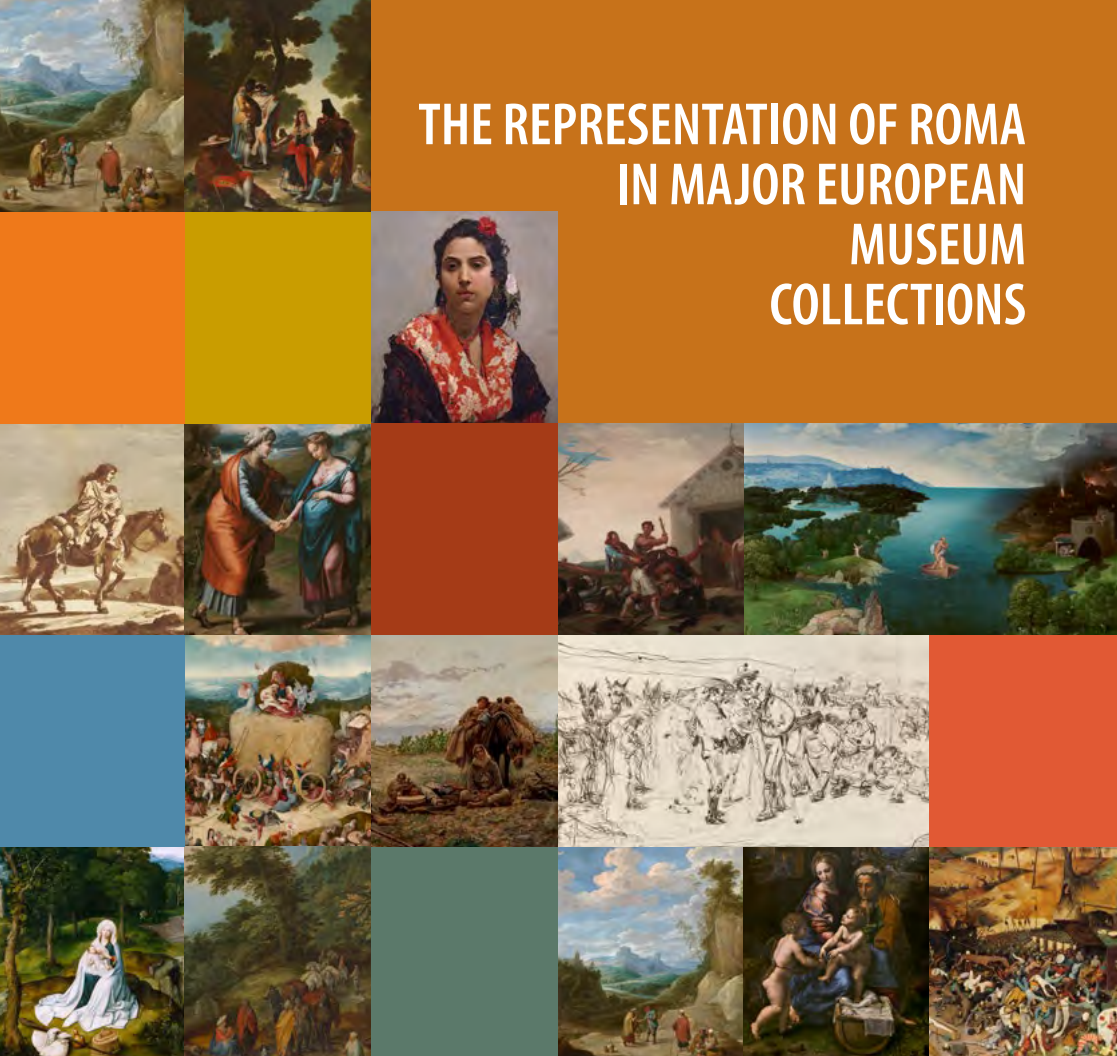


# THE REPRESENTATION OF ROMA IN MAJOR EUROPEAN MUSEUM COLLECTIONS



**Volume 2 – The Prado**  
Sarah Carmona

COUNCIL OF EUROPE



CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE

# **THE REPRESENTATION OF ROMA IN MAJOR EUROPEAN MUSEUM COLLECTIONS**

**Volume 2 – The Prado**  
Sarah Carmona

French edition:

*La représentation des Roms  
dans les grandes collections  
muséographiques européennes –  
Volume II: Le Prado*  
ISBN 978-92-871-8983-7

*The opinions expressed in this work  
are the responsibility of the author and  
do not necessarily reflect the official  
policy of the Council of Europe.*

All rights reserved. No part of this  
publication may be translated,  
reproduced or transmitted, in any  
form or by any means, electronic  
(CD-Rom, internet, etc.) or mechanical,  
including photocopying, recording or  
any information storage or retrieval  
system, without prior permission  
in writing from the Directorate of  
Communication (F-67075 Strasbourg  
Cedex or publishing@coe.int).

Cover design and layout:  
Documents and Publications Production  
Department (SPDP), Council of Europe

Fact sheet structure:  
© Patrick Straub, *Histoires d'arts  
répertoire d'œuvres*, Accès Editions.

Photos: Museo del Prado

Council of Europe Publishing  
F-67075 Strasbourg Cedex  
<http://book.coe.int>

ISBN 978-92-871-8993-6

© Council of Europe, July 2020  
Printed at the Council of Europe

Co-ordination: Aurora Ailincăi  
and Clémentine Trolong-Bailly

# Contents

---

<b>PREFACE</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>THE HAYWAIN TRIPTYCH (1512-1515)</b>	<b>7</b>
Hieronymus Bosch (1450-1516)	7
<b>REST ON THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT (1518-1520)</b>	<b>11</b>
Joachim Patinir (1480-1524)	11
<b>THE TEMPTATIONS OF SAINT ANTHONY THE ABBOT (1520-1524)</b>	<b>14</b>
Joachim Patinir (1480-1524), Quentin Massys (1465-1530)	14
<b>THE HOLY FAMILY/LA PERLA (1518)</b>	<b>17</b>
Raffaello Sanzio (Raphael) (1483-1520), Giulio Romano (1499-1546)	17
<b>THE VISITATION (1517)</b>	<b>20</b>
Raffaello Sanzio (Raphael) (1483-1520), Giulio Romano (1499-1546), Giovanni Penni (1496-1528)	20
<b>THE TRIUMPH OF DEATH (1562-1563)</b>	<b>23</b>
Pieter Brueghel the Elder (1525-1569)	23
<b>MULE TRAIN AND GYPSIES IN A FOREST (1612)</b>	<b>26</b>
Jan Brueghel Elder (1568-1625)	26
<b>LANDSCAPE WITH GYPSIES (1641-1645)</b>	<b>29</b>
David Teniers II	29
<b>GYPSY FAMILY (18TH CENTURY)</b>	<b>32</b>
Pietro Giacomo Palmieri (1737-1804)	32
<b>AN AVENUE IN ANDALUSIA OR THE MAJA AND THE CLOAKED MEN (1777)</b>	<b>35</b>
Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (1746-1828)	35
<b>THE FIGHT AT THE COCK INN (1777)</b>	<b>38</b>
Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (1746-1828)	38
<b>THREE GYPSIES (1840)</b>	<b>41</b>
Genaro Pérez Villamil y Duguet (1807-1854)	41
<b>A GYPSY (1871)</b>	<b>44</b>
Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta (1841-1920)	44
<b>WHERE DO WE GO NOW? (BOSNIANS) (1884)</b>	<b>47</b>
Joaquín Araujo y Ruano (1851-1894)	47
<b>THE CATTLE MARKET (SECOND HALF OF THE 19th CENTURY)</b>	<b>50</b>
Joaquín Araujo y Ruano (1851-1894)	50
<b>FROM EPISTEMICIDE TO CULTURAL APPROPRIATION</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>CONCLUSION: THE JUSTICE OF THE SINGULAR VERSUS THE TOTALITARIANISM OF THE TRUTH</b>	<b>103</b>
<b>THE CATALOGUE AND PHOTO CREDITS</b>	<b>111</b>

---



# Preface

---

**“A work of art is not the reflection or image of the world;  
but it resembles the world.”**  
Ionesco

**W**ho are the characters wearing their hair in white headwraps in Bosch's *The Haywain Triptych* or in *The Triumph of Death* by Pieter Bruegel the Elder? And the young Maja, in Goya's painting *A Walk in Andalusia*? What characterises Madraza y Garreta's painting, *A Gypsy woman*? What do these works of art teach us about their time of creation? What do they teach us about interactions between people and social groups?

This book will provide many answers, explaining and at the same time questioning the place given to Roma in the Prado collections. This pedagogical guide is in line with the Council of Europe strategic objective of tackling prejudice and discrimination against Roma and Travellers.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to other initiatives – such as the partnership with the European Roma Institute for Arts and Culture (ERAC) and the contribution to Roma Genocide remembrance, and in particular its teaching – this book highlights the perception of Roma among the general public and gives an idea of the complex mechanisms that construct stereotypes underlying discrimination. In addition, it helps the reader to understand the role and contribution of Roma to European history.

- 
1. The term “Roma and Travellers” is used at the Council of Europe to encompass the wide diversity of the groups covered by the work of the Council of Europe in this field: on the one hand a) Roma, Sinti/Manush, Kale/Cale, Kaale, Romanichals, Boyash/Rudari; b) Balkan Egyptians (Egyptians and Ashkali); c) Eastern groups (Dom, Lom and Abdal); and, on the other hand, groups such as Travellers, Yenish, and the populations designated under the administrative term “Gens du voyage”, as well as persons who identify themselves as Gypsies. The present is an explanatory footnote, not a definition of Roma and/or Travellers.

Whether you are a teacher of history, art history or philosophy, a (school) student or simply a visitor to the Prado, this book is an invitation to openness and discovery through worksheets that present, in depth, 15 selected works of art. It provides a contextual framework that will allow you to put into perspective the works, periods and history of ideas. These are essential tools in today's fight against anti-Gypsyism and in recognising the Roma's place in European history. Enjoy this beautiful experience!

**Snežana Samardžić-Marković**  
Director General of Democracy  
Council of Europe



*The Haywain Triptych* (1512-1515)  
Hieronymus Bosch (1450-1516)  
Oil on wood (147 x 212 cm) – Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain

## Fact sheet 1

# *The Haywain Triptych* (1512-1515)

### The work in brief

**Period:** late Middle Ages, early Modern Period

**Style:** Northern Renaissance (Flemish)

**Artistic field:** visual art

**Medium:** painting

**Genre:** moral allegory

### The work in question

— *What scenes are depicted on the panels of the triptych?*

The painting is a biblical metaphor for the ephemeral nature of earthly things. Open, it depicts sin. Closed, it shows *homo viator*, a wayfarer making his way through life. On the central panel is the hay cart, on the left panel, heaven, and on the right, Hell.



### **Why is the main theme that of people crowding round a wagon piled with hay?**

The haywain symbolises everything we crave for: riches, honours, pleasures. It trundles towards the granary, drawn by seven monsters: the seven deadly sins. Some figures are trying to climb onto the wagon, while others have already fallen off and are being crushed under its wheels. They represent humankind pulled along by sin. The nobles of this world (emperor, king and pope), like the common folk, all belong to what Bosch considers the perverse human race. They follow the wagon, paying no attention to the redeeming figure of Christ, who looks down on the scene from a cloud above.

### **What are Hieronymus Bosch's sources? From what biblical episode did he draw his inspiration?**

There is a reference to the haywain in the Old Testament (Book of Isaiah 40.6: "Omnis caro foenum" – All people are like grass) but Bosch's influences are also popular, as demonstrated by the Flemish proverb "the world is a hay cart and everyone takes what they can from it".

### **If you close the triptych, what do you see?**

The figure of a wayfaring peddler wending his way through life. The only positive lower-class vagabond in the iconography of Hieronymus Bosch, the old man is bent under the weight of his load. He uses his staff to fend off a growling dog. He is looking back over the years. What he sees is robbery, fighting, and that humankind is lost.

### **In which direction is the triptych meant to be read?**

It can be read vertically or horizontally. Successive horizontal bands correspond to different layers in the painting and follow the movement of the cart, from left to right. The first band signifies the parasites of society. Here we find two Gypsy women, one of whom is a fortune teller. Above this scene a yellow band almost empty of people reveals the route followed by the procession. In front of the wagon groups of figures in muddled clusters show the violence that inevitably comes with cupidity. Either side of the cart, two groups form symmetrical triangles, pointing towards the front of the wheel. Behind the cart we discover a vast landscape composed of mountains, lakes and dwellings. The vertical view is focused on a central axis, ranging from a tooth puller with pockets full of hay, to scenes of people fighting for hay in front of the cart. We then pause at the base of the bale of hay, a scene of voluptuousness featuring characters not only oblivious to the agitation around them but also to the figure of Christ in pain, in a cloud bathed in heavenly light, observing how the vices of men turn them away from his ultimate sacrifice.

## Why did the artist include Romani<sup>2</sup> characters in this moralistic allegory?

By the end of the 14th century, Roma people had been living in Europe for several decades, even up to a century in some areas. They are mentioned in many archived documents, where they are often referred to as “Bohemians” or “Egyptians”.

In the foreground on the central panel a child leads a blind man by the hand. To their right, outcast and mistrusted, two Gypsy women are recognisable by their dark complexion and their large, white, round hats. One is taking the hand of a fair-complexioned lady whose fine clothes suggest that she is of noble stock. Fortune-telling, also known as chiromancy, is an activity frowned upon by the Church. The chiromancer holds a baby against her chest, tucked inside the fold of her robe. Another child, bare-legged, clutches the wealthy lady's dress. The other Gypsy is sitting on the ground washing the bottom of a baby lying across her lap. She uses water from a bowl on the ground beside her. Behind her is a jug, as well as a pig lying down, something roasting on a spit, and a dog. These are all incarnations of vice in the eyes of the painter, who sees them as signs of human sinfulness.

## The work in themes

### Theme: Allegory

1. Louvre: *The Glorious Virgin* (circa 1485), Anonymous

### Reasons for the connection

Works depicting a moral and religious allegory and featuring Romani women

### Comparison keys

#### Similarities

- ▶ Genre: the Romani woman as an allegory
- ▶ Romani dress
- ▶ Northern Renaissance

---

2. Editor's note: the term “Romani” is used in a more extensive context than the restriction to language and culture.

## Differences

- ▶ Technique: tapestry/painting on wood
- ▶ Genre: scene from the Old Testament/religious allegory

## Theme: Romani dress

5. Prado: *The Visitation* (1517) by Raffaello Sanzio (Raphael), Giulio Romano, Giovanni Penni
3. Louvre: *The Small Holy Family* (circa 1519) by Giulio Romano
5. Louvre: *The Fortune Teller* (1595-1598) by Caravaggio
13. Prado: *A Gypsy* (1871) by Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta

## Theme: Texts

Sébastien Brant, *The ship of fools*. Late 15th century. Allegory in verse of various types of folly, providing a tableau of the human condition.



*Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (1518-1520)

Joachim Patinir (1480-1524)

Oil on wood (121 x 177 cm) – Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain

## Fact sheet 2

# *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (1518-1520)

### The work in brief

**Period:** 15th-16th century

**Style:** Northern Renaissance

**Artistic field:** visual art

**Medium:** painting

**Genre:** religious scene

### The work in question

— *What religious scene does the artist depict?*

The painting shows the Holy Family's flight into Egypt. This episode, which has inspired so many artists, is described in the Gospel according to St Matthew: warned by an angel that Herod has decided to kill the king of the Jews, Joseph leaves Bethlehem by night with Mary and their son, to take them to Egypt.

When Herod dies and his son Archelaus succeeds him, they return to Nazareth to live. While they are away the massacre of the children of Bethlehem, known as the Massacre of the Innocents, takes place.

### ■ ***What can be said about the picture's composition?***

Like a triptych, the painting is in three parts. In the central foreground, on an outcrop of rock, sit the Virgin Mary and Child in Majesty. Behind them is a dark forest. To the right, quite separate, the fields, the barn and the village in the distance are recurrent themes of Patinir's. To the left, at the foot of a towering rocky mountain, stands Heliopolis with its Early Gothic buildings. Idols fall from one of the towers while in other buildings the faithful present offerings to their gods. On his way back from the city, Joseph brings a jug of milk for the Virgin, who is nursing her baby.

### ■ ***What do we know about the symbolism of flowers and plants in the 16th century?***

Flowers and trees had specific meanings in the religious art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The apple tree on Mary's right represents the tree of good and evil, dried up by the original sin, but brought back to life by the birth of Christ. The grapeless vine winding round the tree recalls the words of Christ: "I am the vine", and portends his death. The chestnut tree in the background is associated with the Resurrection. The chestnuts on the ground symbolise the Immaculate Conception.

### ■ ***What links this scene to Romani iconography?***

A recurring motif in the painting of the day, the turbaned Virgin, represented here as *Maria lactans* (nursing mother), and the evocation of the biblical theme of the exile in Egypt link this work with Romani iconography. By the end of the 14th century Roma people had been in Europe for several decades, even up to a century in some regions. They are mentioned in many archived documents, where they are often referred to as "Egyptians". Like the Hebrews and the Holy Family fleeing persecution, they too are a people on the move. In those days everything related to Egypt was considered mysterious and magical, with no negative connotation. Had that not been so, it would not have been possible to depict the Virgin wearing a turban like the Gypsy women of the time.

Lastly, she is nursing the Baby Jesus. Similar images of loving and nursing mothers are found in numerous texts and representations from that era describing the arrival of "Egyptians" in the towns and countryside.

## The work in themes

### Theme: Biblical scenes

4. Louvre: *Moses Saved from the Water* (1539) by Nicolò dell'Abbate

#### Reasons for the connection

- ▶ Biblical references. Reference to Egypt.

#### Comparison keys

##### Similarities

- ▶ Genre: religious scene featuring Romani figures
- ▶ Period: Renaissance

##### Differences

- ▶ The composition in three parts/the bucolic setting
- ▶ Technique: oil on wood/drawing

### Theme: Romani dress

3. Prado: *The Temptations of Saint Anthony the Abbot* (1520-1524) by Joachim Patinir and Quentin Massys

4. Prado: *The Holy Family/La Perla* (1518) by Raffaello Sanzio (Raphael) and Giulio Romano

2. Louvre: *The Great Holy Family* (circa 1518) by Raffaello Sanzio (Raphael)

10. Prado: *An Avenue in Andalusia or The Maja and the Cloaked Men* (1777) by Francisco de Goya y Lucientes



*The Temptations of Saint Anthony the Abbot* (1520-1524)  
Joachim Patinir (1480-1524), Quentin Massys (1465-1530)  
Oil on wood (155 x 173 cm) – Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain

## Fact sheet 3

# *The Temptations of Saint Anthony the Abbot (1520-1524)*

**Period:** 16th century

**Style:** Northern Renaissance

**Artistic field:** visual art

**Medium:** painting on wood

**Genre:** religious scene

## The work in question

### What does the painting depict?

As in other paintings by Patinir, several scenes from the temptations are depicted. In the central foreground three women of different generations tempt Saint Anthony. One offers him an apple, an allusion to the original sin, another talks to him reassuringly, while the third, the train of whose robe reveals the Devil in her, strokes his neck. A little monkey, symbolising the Devil, tugs at the Saint's cloak. Smaller scenes surround this main image. On the right Saint Anthony is once again subjected to temptation, this time by a queen and her ladies-in-waiting. In the boat, unseen by the holy man, who is making a sign of exorcism, monstrous creatures await. Further left, Patinir portrays the Saint, his hair aflame, then being attacked by hybrid animals and creatures while a horde of demons approach from behind. Further left, under an awning outside a chapel, Saint Anthony sits in prayer. The sky above is full of diabolical agitation.

### What is shown in the background?

Almost a third of the composition is taken up by landscape. Patinir is said to have been the first landscape painter. His treatment of natural scenery is characterised by its amplitude. This is achieved in two ways: the space depicted is immense thanks to the elevated panoramic viewpoint used, while at the same time, with scarcely any heed for geographical accuracy, it encompasses as many phenomena and specimens as possible, representative of all the earth has to offer by way of curiosities, real or imaginary. In addition to the panoramic perspective, he uses da Vinci's aerial perspective, dividing space into three depths of field by colour: brownish-ochre, green and blue.

### What connects this painting to the Romani world?

In the scene left of centre, demons have set fire first to the Saint's treetop cabin, then to his hair, to bring him down to the ground where they can attack him. One of the creatures is clearly wearing the flat, round hat typically associated with Roma people in works of art. Her central presence in this little scene brings us back to the Romani woman as an allegory of vice, heresy and temptation.

### Why is the work signed by two artists?

Joaquim Patinir and Quentin Massys were Flemish Renaissance painters, both born in Antwerp. They were strongly influenced by Bosch's paintings.

In this picture Patinir, who already had his own studio, painted the background and the landscape while Massys took charge of the figures. We thus have two



renowned painters each working in the field he knows best. This is both a great landscape painting and a great religious painting. Our attention is captured as much by the story Quentin Massys tells as by Patinir's landscape.

## The work in themes

### Theme: allegory

3. Prado: *The Haywain Triptych* (1512-1515) by Hieronymus Bosch

### Reasons for the connection

- ▶ Two allegorical representations of vice in Romani guise
- ▶ The Flemish Renaissance
- ▶ Hybrid creatures and demons

### Comparison keys

#### Similarities

- ▶ Genre: religious scene with Romani figure
- ▶ Romani dress
- ▶ Bestiary and demons/monsters

### Theme: Landscape

4. Prado: *The Holy Family/La Perla* (1518) by Raffaello Sanzio (Raphael) and Giulio Romano

7. Prado: *Mule Train and Gypsies in a Forest* (1612) by Jan Brueghel the Elder

8. Prado: *Landscape with Gypsies* (1641-1645) by David Teniers II

10. Louvre: *Travellers Beneath the Ruins* (1640-1643) by Sébastien Bourdon

### Theme: Studio work

4. Prado: *The Holy Family/La Perla* (1518) by Raffaello Sanzio (Raphael) and Giulio Romano

***The Holy Family/La Perla (1518)***  
Raffaello Sanzio (Raphael) (1483-1520),  
Giulio Romano (1499-1546)  
Oil on wood (147.4 x 116 cm) –  
Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain



## Fact sheet 4

# *The Holy Family/ La Perla (1518)*

### The work in brief

**Period:** 16th century

**Style:** Italian Renaissance

**Artistic field:** visual art

**Medium:** painting

**Genre:** biblical scene

### The work in question

***Who are the people depicted in the painting?***

The painting shows the Virgin Mary, draped in a Marian blue mantle, Jesus and his cousin Saint John the Baptist, wearing the sheepskin he would wear later as a preacher, and Saint Elisabeth, his mother. In the shadows in the background we see Saint Joseph. All the figures except for Jesus have halos.

### Why is Saint Elisabeth depicted as a 15th-century Romani woman?

This motif occurs frequently in the religious painting of the 15th and 16th centuries. Hermeneuts and annunciators, it was Saint John the Baptist and his mother Saint Elisabeth who proclaimed the coming of the Messiah and his crucifixion in the New Testament. Note how grave Saint Elisabeth's expression is. She knows the sacrifices and suffering Jesus and her son will have to endure for their faith. She can see into the future, as power Romani women were believed to have at the time. So she is depicted with dark skin and sharp features and wearing a striped turban, arranged in the Romani manner.

### Why is the painting also known as La Perla?

This work by Raphael, to which Giulio Romano also contributed, was the favourite painting of Philip IV, King of Spain, who called it his "pearl". From a very young age he was a lover and patron of the arts, and this work was the jewel of his collection. There is some debate as to its real author, but the composition is unanimously attributed to Raphael, who is believed to have asked Giulio Romano, a student of his, to finish it.

### What can be said about the composition of the painting?

The composition is pyramid-shaped. The triangular layout, like the importance of the landscape in the background and the play of contrasting light, shows the influence of Leonardo da Vinci on Raphael and his studio.

## The work in themes

### Theme: Representational codes

5. Prado: *The Visitation* (1517) by Raffaello Sanzio (Raphael), Giulio Romano, Giovanni Penni
3. Louvre: *The Small Holy Family* (circa 1519) by Giulio Romano

### Reasons for the connection

- ▶ Two pictures of the Holy Family with Saint Elisabeth depicted with Romani features
- ▶ Renaissance studio work

### Comparison keys

#### Similarities

- ▶ Genre: religious scene featuring a Romani figure
- ▶ Romani dress

## Differences

- ▶ The setting: symbolic presence of nature/bucolic setting
- ▶ The light: play of light and shade (darker palette of Leonardo da Vinci)/diffuse presence of nature

## Theme: Romani dress

3. Louvre: *The Small Holy Family* (circa 1519) by Giulio Romano

5. Louvre: *The Fortune Teller* (1595-1598) by Caravaggio

13. Louvre: *Gypsy Camp* (17th century) by Jan van de Venne

## Theme: Studio work

3. Prado: *The Temptations of Saint Anthony the Abbot* (1520-1524) by Joachim Patinir and Quentin Massys

3. Louvre: *The Small Holy Family* (circa 1519) by Giulio Romano



***The Visitation*** (1517)  
Raffaello Sanzio (Raphael) (1483-1520),  
Giulio Romano (1499-1546),  
Giovanni Penni (1496-1528)  
Oil on canvas (200 x 145 cm) –  
Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain

## Fact sheet 5

# *The Visitation* (1517)

---

### The work in brief

**Period:** Modern

**Style:** Italian Renaissance

**Artistic field:** visual arts

**Medium:** painting

**Genre:** religious scene

### The work in question

#### *What is the Visitation?*

It is an episode in the New Testament that tells of the Virgin Mary's visit, when she was pregnant with Jesus, to her cousin Elisabeth who, although no longer a young woman, was also pregnant with Saint John the Baptist. It is also a Christian holiday celebrated on 31 May. In the background, to the left, the painting shows the baptism of Christ by Saint John the Baptist.

### Why is the work attributed to three painters?

We know that the composition was designed by Raphael. He was paid 300 escudos for the job. He then entrusted the rest of the work to the painters in his studio. Giulio Romano painted the figures while Giovanni Penni worked on the landscape.

### How was Raphael's studio organised?

Raphael imposed such strict discipline in the execution of the paintings that it is impossible to distinguish the work of one of his disciples from that of another, and even from his own work. Allowance was made for this process from the very start, when the preparatory sketches were made.

### What can be said about the picture's composition?

Giulio Romano is known for his hard, dense forms, which are the origin of Mannerism. It is thought that he probably painted the heads, and perhaps also the bodies and robes, the execution of which is a little clumsy (an arm that is too long, a shawl that does not hang properly from the shoulder, an unusually round belly). Penni, on the other hand, would have painted the background, where we recognise his delicate style.

### Why is Saint Elisabeth wearing a Roma turban?

Gypsy women in those days were depicted wearing two types of headgear: a flat, round hat or an "Egyptian-style" turban, passing under the chin, as perfectly illustrated in this picture of Saint Elisabeth. The Virgin's cousin, like other female biblical characters capable of seeing into the future, were depicted by the artists at the time wearing Gypsy clothes, in allusion to their powers of prophecy.

### What can be said about the look passing between the two figures?

*The Holy Family*, also known as *La Perla*, illustrates a meeting between the two cousins, accompanied by their children. Saint Elisabeth looks grief-stricken at the thought of the deaths the children are doomed to suffer. The Virgin seems to be trying to comfort her. Here, it is the other way round. Saint Elisabeth looks at her cousin with a serene and gentle gaze, while Mary already looks resigned.

## The work in themes

### Theme: Dress

2. Louvre: *The Great Holy Family* (circa 1518) by Raffaello Sanzio (Raphael)

7. Prado: *Mule Train and Gypsies in a Forest* (1612) by Jan Brueghel the Elder
10. Prado: *An Avenue in Andalusia or The Maja and the Cloaked Men* (1777) by Francisco de Goya y Lucientes
13. Prado: *A Gypsy* (1871) by Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta

### Theme: Representational codes

3. Louvre: *The Small Holy Family* (circa 1519) by Giulio Romano

### Reasons for the connection

Two pictures of the Holy Family in which Saint Elizabeth is portrayed with Romani features. Studio work from the Renaissance period.

### Comparison keys

#### Similarities

- ▶ Genre: religious scene featuring a Romani figure
- ▶ Romani dress

#### Differences

- ▶ The setting: symbolic presence of nature/scene in a bucolic setting



*The Triumph of Death* (1562-1563)  
Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1525-1569)  
Oil on wood (117 x 162 cm) – Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain

## Fact sheet 6

# *The Triumph of Death (1562-1563)*

### **The work in brief**

**Period:** Modern

**Style:** baroque

**Artistic field:** visual art

**Medium:** painting

**Genre:** moral allegory



## The work in question

### What story does the painting tell?

It is an apocalyptic vision. In the centre of the painting, Death swings his scythe astride an emaciated steed, herding men and women towards what looks like a huge coffin with a cross on its lid. A horde of skeletons invades the landscape, cutting down everyone in its path – here a king, there a mother and her baby, a knight, noblewomen, peasants, even the loving couple playing music, unaware of the skeleton behind them. The card players lash out with their swords in a vain attempt to defend themselves. Some of the skeletons are sounding the death knell. There is no hope at all.

### Why would Brueghel paint such a macabre scene?

Macabre themes have long been present in European painting. The Great Plague of 1347-49, which decimated almost half of the Continent's population, indubitably played a part in this fascination for scenes of death. The Church used them to instil dread of eternal damnation. What is more, the artist's country, the Netherlands, was in geopolitical chaos at the time, mainly because of the religious wars.

### What can be said about the picture's composition?

The horizon line is high up in this painting, leaving plenty of room for the landscape and the action going on there. The focal point is just above the scenes of massacre in the foreground, at the level of the burning dungeon. In the foreground nothing guides the viewer's gaze, obliging the viewer to take in every detail. More or less in the centre of the painting, Death rides an emaciated horse. The painting has three natural points of interest. One, in the upper left part of the picture, shows the villagers resisting the army of death; the second, in the lower part of the painting, shows two skeletons in cassocks pulling a coffin, while the third, in front of the horse, shows the people in a state of panic. The painting is divided into three zones. The sky, blue on the right, red on the left. The central band, a desert landscape littered with dead bodies and scenes of torture. And in the foreground, the armies of death swarming over the people.

### Why do art critics describe this painting as "noisy"?

Brueghel's paintings are described as "noisy" when they depict large numbers of people.

### Where is the Romani reference in this painting?

Amidst the profusion of scenes and people are figures wearing broad round hats associated with Romani headwear. The presence of these pictures of the other emphasises the universality and the vulnerability of humankind and the inexorable nature of death, regardless of one's race or condition. Romani figures are found in many of Brueghel's paintings. In *The Sermon of Saint John the Baptist* (1566, Szépművészeti Museum, Budapest) a Gypsy family in particularly characteristic dress occupies the foreground, and these same hats, called Berg in Romani, are also visible in *The Procession to Calvary* (1564, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).

## The work in themes

### Theme: Moral allegory

1. *The Haywain Triptych* (1512-1515) by Hieronymus Bosch

### Reasons for the connection

- ▶ Two moral allegories about sin and the end of the world
- ▶ Influence of Bosch on Brueghel

### Comparison keys

#### Similarities

- ▶ The subject: the end of the world, mankind's sins
- ▶ Flemish art

#### Differences

- ▶ The composition



*Mule Train and Gypsies in a Forest* (1612)

Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625)

Oil on copper (36 x 43 cm) – Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain

## Fact sheet 7

# *Mule Train and Gypsies in a Forest* (1612)

### The work in brief

**Period:** Modern

**Style:** Baroque

**Artistic field:** visual art

**Medium:** painting

**Genre:** genre painting

### The work in question

— How is Pieter Brueghel the Elder related to Jan Brueghel the Elder?

The Brueghel family was a family of artists. Jan Brueghel the Elder was the son of the excellent Pieter Brueghel the Elder, who painted *The Triumph of Death*

(Fact sheet 6). While there are traces of the father's work in that of the son, Jan Brueghel managed to develop his own style. He was also nicknamed Velvet Brueghel, Flower Brueghel and Paradise Brueghel because of his technique and his favourite subjects. He is also called Jan Brueghel the Elder to distinguish him from the third Jan Brueghel, his son and disciple.

■ ***This picture is painted on a sheet of copper rather than a canvas. What is this technique?***

The northern artists produced numerous paintings on copper. They discovered this technique in Italy. After adopting it, they helped to disseminate it all over Europe. The Renaissance artists experimented with new materials. From the 15th century onwards the search for durability was one of the main reasons for this experimentation, and long life is probably the main quality of works painted on copper. The fact that they were easy to transport fostered their dissemination. The works concerned were often of small or medium size.

■ ***What can be said about the picture's composition?***

The diagonal line of the mountainside divides the composition in two. On the left, a vast landscape where a few hamlets can be distinguished. On the right, a family of Gypsies are driving a caravan of mules. The countryside is realistic and the brushwork very meticulous.

■ ***What does this painting tell us about Romani history?***

On the path out of a dark forest a group of Gypsies leads a caravan of mules. A woman wearing a flat, round hat is sitting down. She holds a baby in her arms and is talking to an older woman. A third Gypsy woman is speaking with the man leading the mules. The rest of the group follow with the mules. All the men are armed. It is important to stress that this genre scene is in contradiction with two laws that existed all over Europe: Gypsies were prohibited from carrying weapons and trading in animals. Horse-trading, falconry, military activities and metalworking were characteristic activities of Gypsy companies in those days.

## **The work in themes**

### **Theme: Landscape**

12. Louvre: *Military Resting with a Fortune Teller* (circa 1648-1650) by Jan Miel

### **Reasons for the connection**

Filiation and contrast of styles and theme

## Comparison keys

### Similarities

- ▶ Subject: Group of Gypsies travelling through a landscape
- ▶ Reference to horse-trading and military activities

### Differences

- ▶ Composition

## Theme: Genre scenes

8. Prado: *Landscape with Gypsies* (1641-1645) by David Teniers II

8. Louvre: *Musicians and Drinkers* (1625) by Valentin de Boulogne

10. Louvre: *Travellers Beneath the Ruins* (1640-1643) by Sébastien Bourdon



**Landscape with Gypsies (1641-1645)**

David Teniers II

Oil on canvas (177 x 239 cm) – Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain

## Fact sheet 8

# *Landscape with Gypsies* (1641-1645)

---

### The work in brief

**Period:** Modern

**Style:** Baroque

**Artistic field:** visual art

**Medium:** painting

**Genre:** genre painting

### The work in question

#### **Why is the artist known as David Teniers the Second?**

Like the Brueghel family, the Teniers were a family of Flemish painters. Three generations saw the birth of a great artist, all with the same first name and family name: David Teniers (1582-1649), known as “the Elder”; his son, David

Teniers The Second (1610-1690), known as “the Younger” and the most famous and most prolific of the three; and his (David Teniers the Younger’s) son, David Teniers the Third (1638-1685).

### ■ **What is a genre painting?**

A genre painting is a painting that shows contemporary scenes from everyday life, or people carrying out their daily activities. This style is rated fairly low down in the hierarchy of painting but was highly appreciated in the Northern countries. It was perfected in the 17th century by Caravaggio and his emulators.

### ■ **What does the painting tell us about the perception people have of Gypsies?**

Nature takes on a monumental dimension. Subjects and buildings are dwarfed by the perspective opening out under the immense sky. The composition seems to oppose rough nature on the right to the village on the left. At the foot of a rocky landscape three Gypsies with a child look on as an old lady tells a villager’s fortune. The line of houses closing the left side of the scene seems to form a protecting wall, like an impenetrable barrier between two worlds. The people, placed in the landscape like figurines, dressed in rags, seem de-ethnicised.

## **The work in themes**

### **Theme: Landscape**

7. Prado: *Mule Train and Gypsies in a Forest* (1612) by Jan Brueghel the Elder

### Reasons for the connection

Gypsy figure in a landscape

### Comparison keys

#### **Similarities**

- ▶ The subject:
  - the Gypsy in the landscape
  - the Gypsy and the national territory
  - genre painting

## Differences

- ▶ the treatment of the Romani figure
- ▶ de-ethnicisation

## Theme: Genre painting

8. Louvre: *Meeting at a Cabaret* (1625) by Valentin de Boulogne

8. Prado: *Landscape with Gypsies* (1641-1645) by David Teniers II

11. Louvre: *Travellers Beneath the Ruins* (1640-1643) by Sébastien Bourdon

11. Prado: *The Fight at the Cock Inn* (1777) by Francisco de Goya y Lucientes





***Gypsy Family*** (18th century)  
Pietro Giacomo Palmieri (1737-1804)  
Gouache and ink drawing (26.5 x 37.9 cm)  
Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain

## Fact sheet 9

# ***Gypsy Family*** **(18th century)**

---

### **The work in brief**

**Period:** Modern

**Style:** pre-Romanticism

**Artistic field:** visual art

**Medium:** drawing

**Genre:** genre painting

**Mouvement:** Bolognese school

## The work in question

### **What do we see in this drawing by Giacomo Palmieri?**

The drawing shows a woman riding a mule side-saddle. In her arms she carries a child wrapped up in a shawl. In front of her a man is loading a donkey's back. They are accompanied by children surrounded by a flock of sheep.

### **What can be said about the painter's technique?**

The artist did the drawing in gouache with highlights in ink. The treatment of the drawing is reminiscent of the Naturalist movement of the early 19th century, but also of the etchings of Jacques Callot (for example his series of engravings, "Gypsies on the Move", conserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France).

### **What is the difference between gouache and watercolour?**

Gum arabic "gouache" is a form of thick opaque paste mixed with white pigment, binding agents and other ingredients. Pigments are diluted in this aqueous solution and applied with brushes, rapidly drying. In contrast to watercolour, gouache is not transparent: it is the paint that must suggest the light. Pen and ink drawing, be it smooth and flowing or nervous and jerky, brings out the lines while suggesting the shapes.

### **Why choose to associate this drawing with the dramatic episode of the Great Gypsy Round-up of 1749?**

There is no proof that this drawing is related to the forced march of the Spanish Gypsies triggered by the Great Round-up of 30 July 1749. However, Palmieri travelled extensively in Europe, particularly in Spain, France and Switzerland during this period. Furthermore, the solemnity of the central figure of the Gypsy mother gazing into the distance as if ready to protect her family, whatever the cost, seems to sum up the resilience of the Roma people, the numerous attempts by Gypsy women to cast off the shackles that bound them, and the various legal solutions those who managed to slip through the net of the round-up sought to save their people from what might be considered the first episode of genocide in the modern era.

### **What was the Great Round-up of 1749?**

The first historian to work on this period was Antonio Gomez Alfaro. He describes how the period of "enlightened despotism" afforded the Spanish authorities considerable leeway to apply their policies to every person under their jurisdiction. This situation led to one of the darkest episodes in Romani history: the general round-up carried out under Ferdinand VI, on 30 July 1749.

The operation was meticulously planned and scrupulously executed, leading to the imprisonment of 10-12 000 people simply because they were Gypsies. The co-ordination between the different public authorities involved, the co-operation of the Church (which remained passive in the face of such injustice), the excesses committed by everyone who made the operation possible, and the collaboration of the victims' neighbours and fellow citizens all helped to make this "black Wednesday" – as the operation has come to be known for posterity – a unique episode in the long series of persecutions perpetrated against the Gypsies in Europe.

## The work in themes

### Theme: Drawing

15. Prado: *The Cattle Market* (second half of the 19th century) by Joaquín Araujo y Ruano

4. Louvre: *Moses Saved from the Water* (1539) by Nicolò dell'Abbate

### Reasons for the connection

The technique: drawing

### Comparison keys

#### Similarities

- ▶ Mixed media: drawing, ink, watercolour, wash

#### Differences

- ▶ The style: Realism/pre-Romanticism/Italian Renaissance

*An Avenue in Andalusia or  
The Maja and the Cloaked Men* (1777)  
Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (1746-1828)  
Oil on canvas (275 x 190 cm)  
Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain



Fact sheet 10

## *An Avenue in Andalusia or The Maja and the Cloaked Men* (1777)

### The work in brief

**Period:** Modern

**Style:** Classicism/Romanticism

**Artistic field:** visual art

**Medium:** oil on canvas

**Genre:** genre painting

**Mouvement:** Spanish “*Costumbrismo*”

## The work in question

### What does the painting depict?

It depicts a meeting between a young woman and her suitor. Goya calls them “Gypsy man and Gypsy woman”. They are walking in a park, discreetly accompanied by cloaked and masked men who look like *bandoleros*, or highway-men. In the bottom right-hand corner of the picture a veiled woman with a fan observes the scene. The perspectives are cut off by a mud wall on the left and pine trees filling almost all the background, leaving only a small gap for the rays of the late afternoon sun to filter through.

### What is a *maja*?

The *maja*, like the *majo*, is marked by all the characteristics of *majismo*. This was a social movement that championed popular regional traditions, such as the typical costumes that are its most eloquent form of expression. In this way, the lower classes showed their opposition to the Spanish elite, who followed French fashion. The *majismo* of Castille was echoed by the *gitanismo* of Andalusia. Literature, theatre, music and painting all took up the theme. The *majismo* style was largely influenced by the Gypsy aesthetic of the day.

### An invisible bond links all the figures in this picture. What is it?

All the subjects painted here are looking at one another. Only the face of the young Gypsy woman is bathed in light. With her hand, she seems to be asking her suitor to take her somewhere more private. The *bandoleros*, with their characteristic clothes and masked faces, are rendered in a less direct light, as if to emphasise their lawlessness. The setting is reminiscent of the mountain landscapes they generally frequented. All the men in the picture look alike, distinguished only by the way they are looking at the Gypsy couple.

### What does this scene show that is of the utmost importance in understanding the history of Roma people in Spain?

The 18th century marked a turning point in the history of the perception of Gypsies in Spain. With *majismo*, *gitanismo* and later on, *costumbrismo*, the figure of the Gypsy merged with that of the *majo*. Even if the Gypsies acquired some considerable artistic prestige, we no longer really know, unless it is clearly indicated, who is a Gypsy and who is not. It is the beginning of cultural appropriation. Cultural appropriation is the adoption or use of elements of one culture by members of another, “dominant” culture, amounting in effect to a form of oppression and spoliation. This was when Spain started to sell its art and heritage to promote tourism, using and re-modelling the Gypsy figure and heritage.

## The work in themes

### Theme: Dress

5. Prado: *The Visitation* (1517) by Raffaello Sanzio (Raphael), Giulio Romano, Giovanni Penni

2. Louvre: *The Great Holy Family* (circa 1518) by Raffaello Sanzio (Raphael)

7. Prado: *Mule Train and Gypsies in a Forest* (1612) by Jan Brueghel the Elder

13. Prado: *A Gypsy* (1871) by Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta

### Reasons for the connection

The evolution of Romani dress and how it was used to forge stereotypes of the Romani figure

### Comparison keys

#### Similarities

- ▶ The subject: dress, the Gypsy woman

#### Differences

- ▶ The styles: Italian Renaissance, Baroque, Spanish realism

### Theme: Texts

*La gitana del capricho*, by Antonio Guerrero, 1783

*El Tío Caniyitas* or *El Nuevo Mundo de Cádiz*, by José Sanz, 1846



***The Fight at the Cock Inn* (1777)**

Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (1746-1828)

Oil on canvas (41.9 x 67.3 cm) – Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain

## Fact sheet 11

# *The Fight at the Cock Inn* (1777)

---

### The work in brief

**Period:** Modern

**Style:** Classicism/Romanticism

**Artistic field:** visual art

**Medium:** painting

**Genre:** genre painting

**Mouvement:** Spanish *costumbrismo*

## The work in question

### — This picture is a sketch. What was it for?

It was a preliminary sketch for a tapestry called *The Fight at the New Inn*. From 1775 to 1791 Goya produced a series of cartoons for tapestries to decorate the El Pardo Royal Palace in Madrid. Goya delivered his first cartoon, *The Picnic*, on 31 October 1776, a few months before *Dance on the Banks of the Manzanares*. Until 1791, which marked the end of the co-operation between Goya and the Santa Barbara tapestry works, no less than 40 new subjects were created and served as models for the production of several copies of tapestries destined to decorate the royal residences. Preserved at the Prado Museum, these cartoons constitute an interesting collection for the study of this part of Goya's work. The artist drew his inspiration for these compositions exclusively from popular customs, costumes and games. His verve, his freedom of expression and his fertile imagination were all given free rein.

### — What does Goya depict in this sketch?

The subject is a violent brawl. At the door of the *venta* or *mesón* (inn or tavern) a card game degenerates. Mule drivers and wagoners come to blows. We see the shape of a woman in the doorway. The social status and geographical origin of the brawlers is clear from their clothes. One of the men comes from the region of Murcia and there is a wagoner from Andalusia.

### — What are the differences between this preliminary sketch and the work entitled *The Fight at the New Inn*?

There are several differences. The brushwork is more accomplished in the final work. The details are clearer. The only major difference is the presence of two black and white dogs. The one in the foreground is barking, excited by the scuffle. The other one sits impassively in the background, looking on.

### — How does this painting relate to the history of Roma people in Spain?

The *ventas* and *mesónes* (taverns) were places where 18th- and 19th-century travellers in Spain rested. They were frequented by Gypsies on their way from one fair to the next. Located at crossroads, they were also used by *bandole-ros* and smugglers, many of whom were Gypsies. Gypsies preferred to travel along paths used by smugglers. It was also in these taverns that flamenco was first performed in public. It was in that era and in these places that flamenco dancing, part of Spain's hybrid cultural heritage, became a public attraction instead of being confined to the privacy of Gypsy homes.

### — What can be said about the painting's composition?



The theme is a frequent one in the Flemish and Dutch tradition of the 17th century. The composition has something of the grandeur of Italian classicism. The presentation of certain groups of figures seems strongly influenced by classical sculpture.

## The work in themes

### Theme: genre painting

13. Louvre: *Gypsy Camp* (17th century) by Jan van de Venne

### Theme: Landscape

10. Louvre: *Travellers Beneath the Ruins* (1640-1643) by Sébastien Bourdon

12. Louvre: *Military Resting with a Fortune Teller* (circa 1648-1650) by Jan Miel

### Reasons for the connection

Marginal geographical setting

### Comparison keys

#### Similarities

- ▶ The subject: landscape and military activities

#### Differences

- ▶ The style: Classicism

### Theme: texts

An order from the king to imprison and punish bandits and robbers. National Historical Archives, leg. 51442, No. 6.

### ***Three Gypsies (1840)***

Genaro Pérez Villaamil y Duguët  
(1807-1854)

Ink, watercolour and pencil on  
paper (12,5 x 11,8 cm) –  
Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain



## Fact sheet 12

# ***Three Gypsies (1840)***

### **The work in brief**

**Period:** Modern

**Style:** Romanticism, Orientalism

**Artistic field:** visual art

**Medium:** drawing

**Genre:** genre painting

### **The work in question**

**■** *Is Pérez Villaamil a painter particularly well known for his landscapes? In Three Gypsies human figures take up all the space. What do we know about the drawings he produced?*

A portraitist and painter of architecture and historical scenes, Pérez Villaamil was appointed painter to the Spanish Court in 1840. Considered the “master of

the Spanish romantic landscape”, he left an immense wealth of works, including 8 000 paintings and 18 000 watercolours or sketches.

### What can be said about the drawing’s composition?

The characters take up three quarters of the space, forming a diagonal composition descending from top right to bottom left. The highest of the three is a Gypsy sitting astride a mule. In the middle there is a Gypsy woman, arms akimbo, who appears to be talking to the third figure, sitting on what looks like a saddle. A close look at their three faces clearly reveals that they are all smiling.

### What is the Gypsy sitting on the saddle wearing?

He is wearing a typical Andalusian hat called a *catite*, of a style particularly popular in Granada. He is wearing a short jacket, or *jaqueta*, which was often decorated with glass beads, buttons and braid trimmings. He is also wearing a waistcoat and breeches, which would usually have been brightly coloured.

### Why would a landscape painter take an interest in popular everyday characters?

Pérez Villaamil also painted popular costumbrist scenes on small plates of metal, in keeping with late 18th-century tradition. His work forms a junction between Romanticism, costumbrism and Orientalism.

## The work in themes

### Theme: Dress

5. Prado: *The Visitation* (1517) by Raffaello Sanzio (Raphael), Giulio Romano, Giovanni Penni
2. Louvre: *The Great Holy Family* (circa 1518) by Raffaello Sanzio (Raphael)
7. Prado: *Mule Train and Gypsies in a Forest* (1612) by Jan Brueghel the Elder
13. Louvre: *Gypsy Camp* (17th century) by Jan van de Venne
13. Prado: *A Gypsy* (1871) by Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta

### Reasons for the connection

Marginal geographical setting



## Comparison keys

### Similarities

- ▶ The subject: dress and how it changed

### Differences

- ▶ The style: Italian Renaissance, Northern Renaissance, Romanticism

*A Gypsy* (1871)  
Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta (1841-1920)  
Oil on canvas (66 x 50 cm) –  
Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain



## Fact sheet 13

# *A Gypsy* (1871)

### The work in brief

**Period:** Modern

**Style:** Academic Realism

**Artistic field:** visual art

**Medium:** painting

**Genre:** portrait

### The work in question

**Who is the woman in this portrait by Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta?**

No one knows exactly who she is. But the title of the work and the young woman's physical traits and style of dress tell us that she is a young Gypsy.

### How is this young Gypsy portrayed?

She is directly associated with the flamenco aesthetic. She is portrayed from the waist up, her arms folded, against a neutral blue-grey background, her dark, curly hair adorned with carnations. Her eyes are intensely black. Her earrings and necklace are made of coral, a favourite stone among Gypsies. The pose is steady, her gaze determined.

### How does this portrait by Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta differ from the usual portrayals of Gypsies in those days?

In his portrait of a Gypsy, a young, dark-haired woman in a flowery red and pink dress, a black lace shawl and a coral necklace, Raimundo de Madrazo has reproduced the cliché of the Spaniard for foreigners, but in a modern, innovative style. Sober both in her posture and in the neutral blue-grey background, the Gypsy is all at once sculptural, natural and almost photographic, unlike the commercial, folkloric image of the Gypsy popularised in operetta-style portrayals of Spain and Spaniards.

### What can be said about the artist's brushwork?

Between 1868 and 1872 Madrazo travelled to Seville and Granada, where his painting gained in virtuosity. His touch grew vibrant with colour and light – vivid, free and at the same time meticulous and remarkable in its technical quality. Raimundo de Madrazo's art critic friend Charles Blanc described the artist as "a colourist by temperament ... his small paintings are like jewels sparkling in the light".

## The work in themes

### Theme: The portrait

9. Louvre: *Gypsy Girl* (1628-1630) by Frans Hals

15. Louvre: *Zingara with a Basque Tambourine* (circa 1865-1870) by Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot

### Reasons for the connection

The portrait and the image projected

## Comparison keys

### Convergence

- ▶ The subject: the Romani woman, between attraction and repulsion
- ▶ How others see you

### Differences

- ▶ The style: Dutch Caravaggio/transition between Classicism and Impressionism/Spanish Academic Realism

## Theme: Texts

Charles Baudelaire, *Bohémiens en voyage (Gypsies travelling)*, *Les fleurs du mal (The flowers of evil)*, 1857

Federico García Lorca, *Romancero gitano*, 1928



*Where do we go now? (Bosnians)* (1884)  
Joaquín Araujo y Ruano (1851-1894)  
Oil on canvas (67 x 99 cm) – Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain

## Fact sheet 14

# *Where do we go now? (Bosnians) (1884)*

---

### The work in brief

**Period:** Modern

**Style:** Realism

**Artistic field:** visual art

**Medium:** painting

**Genre:** genre painting

### The work in question

— *What does this scene depict?*

It shows a Gypsy family with three children. They are weary and resting on their arduous journey. The parents and the eldest child are on the ground, while the two youngest children are sound asleep, safely strapped to the back of a



mule. The mother and father have fallen asleep sitting down. The eldest son is also fast asleep, his face flat on the ground, so exhausted that he does not even feel the monkey looking for lice in his hair. On the far left of the painting lies a muzzled bear. The ground is littered with their possessions: cooking utensils, musical instruments and bags.

### Where could this scene be set?

The landscape depicted by Araujo is covered with prickly pear. It is dry and rocky. In the background lies a mountain range reminiscent of the Sierra Nevada. The composition is linear. The sky takes up almost half of the painting. The scene could be set in the mountains around Granada.

### Who are these Bosnians?

The family in the picture are not Spanish Gypsies but Balkan Gypsies, or at least from somewhere in eastern Europe. There were a lot of non-indigenous Gypsies in Spain at the time, mostly Ursari, whom Spanish Gypsies often called Hungarians. They were bear trainers and musicians and would put on shows in towns and villages in Spain and also in France.

### Why is the title of the painting *Dónde Iremos?* (Bosnios)?

The title means “Where do we go now? (Bosnians)”. The artist portrays a family exhausted by their work and travels. It is quite likely that “Where do we go now?” not only refers to their next destination but also echoes the deeper concern about the future fate of the different Roma groups. The artist gave similar titles to other paintings. One of his engravings, showing a Gypsy and a farmer, is called “Who is tricking whom?”.

## The work in themes

### Theme: Landscape

7. Prado: *Mule Train and Gypsies in a Forest* (1612) by Jan Brueghel the Elder

### Reasons for the connection

Gypsy figure in a landscape

## Comparison keys

### Similarities

- ▶ The subject: the Gypsy in a landscape
- ▶ the Gypsy and the national territory
- ▶ travelling

### Differences

- ▶ The style: Realism/Baroque



***The Cattle Market* (second half of the 19th century)**

Joaquín Araujo y Ruano (1851-1894)

Pen on paper (19.5 x 26.5 cm) – Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain

## Fact sheet 15

# *The Cattle Market* (second half of the 19th century)

### The work in brief

**Period:** Modern

**Style:** Realism

**Artistic field:** visual art

**Genre:** genre painting

**Medium:** drawing

### The work in question

#### What does Araujo depict in this drawing?

We are at a cattle market. In the foreground the swirling lines of ink reveal three men dressed in Andalusian style talking, possibly negotiating the purchase or

sale of a horse. To their right a man is sitting next to a woman while children play on the ground with what looks like a toy wagon. To the left of the three men stands a fourth man, wearing an official-looking peaked cap and a buttoned coat, which might mean he is a guard, keeping an eye on them. On the far left are some horses and in the background, in front of a line of hills, a maze of interlacing ink lines suggest the busy bustle of activity characteristic of a cattle market.

### ■ ***Why is the cattle market theme important for understanding the history of the Roma in Spain?***

Horse-trading and breeding, riding and dressage are activities that have always been highly prized by the different Roma groups, throughout history and in spite of all the myriad legal restrictions to which they were subjected, banning them from engaging in most activities related to horse-trading or working with horses. Later, as at the time when Araujo sketched this cattle market, Gypsies were obliged to present papers proving that they were the legitimate owners of all their animals.

### ■ ***What do we know about the drawings Araujo y Ruano produced?***

He produced about 100 drawings. They reflect the artist's sincerity and objectiveness when he drew from real life (directly, without preparation). They also form a veritable ethnographic compendium.

### ■ ***How do his drawings tie in with the costumbrist spirit?***

Araujo meets the costumbrists precisely because of the ethnographical character of all his drawings. They are spontaneous, first-hand drawings, often highlighted with touches of watercolour, genre scenes showing popular Spanish subjects in various geographical contexts. Araujo's drawings are indubitably some of his most interesting works. They are spontaneous and sincere.

## **The work in themes**

### **Theme: Drawing**

9. Prado: *Gypsy Family* (18th century) by Pietro Giacomo Palmieri

4. Louvre: *Moses Saved from the Water* (1539) by Nicolò dell'Abbate

### **Reasons for the connection**

The drawing technique

## Comparison keys

### Similarities

- ▶ Mixed media: drawing, ink, watercolour, wash

### Differences

- ▶ The style: Realism/pre-Romanticism/Italian Renaissance

## Theme: Realism

14. Prado: *Where do we go now? (Bosnians)* (1884) by Joaquín Araujo y Ruano

# From epistemicide to cultural appropriation

---

## The impossibility of seeing otherness

***“And yet, being a problem is a strange experience”***

(W. E. B. Du Bois, *The souls of black folk*)

This exercise in decoding is a journey. A multi-semantic, interdisciplinary journey through history, the history of the arts and of ideas, philosophy and epistemology. A journey that begins beyond representations of the world and addresses the actual measure of this world. A journey through a world of perceptions and representations covering 41 000 m<sup>2</sup>, located between the Salamanca and Letras districts of Madrid, a journey through four centuries, amidst the works in the Prado Museum, in search of an alterity both radical and imperceptible, that of the different Roma groups.

From Hieronymus Bosch to Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, from Raphael to Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta, not forgetting the Brueghels and Palmieri, the Prado Museum houses 15 works that help analyse the treatment of the Romani figure, its historiography and the issues involved in a genealogical approach to how it developed.

Through these works, whether on display or otherwise, we shall first see how a set of paintings can help us understand how pictorial representations of the different components of the Roma people developed, always in response to the social, moral, ethical and geopolitical imperatives of the majority societies, in a dialectic oscillating between presence and absence. Then we will attempt to understand how a national collection reveals a specific political conception of alterity and, consequently, of exteriority.

After having decoded the historical genealogy of Romaphobia and anti-Gypsyism through a series of works from the French national collection housed in the Louvre, it is to the Prado Museum's collection that we turn our attention in this second part of *Representation of Roma In Major European Museum Collections*.

In the Louvre, as in the Prado, the manner in which Romani figures and their attributes, real or imagined, are portrayed is at the service of the power structures of mainstream society. The arrival of these populations in the 15th century, in a Europe at an epistemological turning point between a waning age of interpretation and a burgeoning age of cogito, would help to forge a particular attitude to otherness. Hermeneuts becoming allegorical figures for vice or seduction or even, if necessary, preferred subjects of manipulation by the future nation states, it is the ontological absence of being Roma that these works highlight. This sheds light on the relationship Europe's powers had with this minority, but again, and above all, with the very concept of alterity.

In the Louvre, we saw how between the 15th and 19th centuries the way in which Romani figures were portrayed went through a moral then a political phase, eventually being orientalised. Gypsies, Tsiganes, Bohemians are all portrayed as disembodied beings reinvented by artists, colossuses with feet of clay. We also saw how, as a European leitmotif, the use of the Romani model and the features that characterised it shifted from a positive hermeneutic interpretation of radical alterity to a negative treatment of exteriority. While until the 16th century Romani dress and regalia were used, among other things, to portray biblical figures known for their hermeneutic and prophetic gifts, from the second half of the 16th century, and especially with the repeated use of the fortune teller by Caravaggio and his followers, the Bohemian, Gypsy or Tsigane gradually turned into an incarnation of vice, theft and alienating exteriority. Later, when Romanticism then Orientalism emerged as systems of thought and representation, revealing how the West perceived the other, the Romani figure became sexualised and the female body objectified. Through "de-ethnicisation", what was previously fantasy or even the reviled norm became the reference. The cultural appropriation of which different Roma groups are victims today was already in the making.

While epistemology and hermeneutics are words that, from the point of view of the philosophy of ideas, help us comprehend the involvement of Romani otherness in the very construction of the alterity/exteriority dialectic in Europe, it is above all to the philosophy of perception that one must refer in order to appreciate the issues at stake in this study. In the Prado as in the Louvre, it is just a matter of perception.

Perception is how we form a sensitive representation of everything around us. It is not sensation (a direct impression on the senses) or imagination (through which we (re-)compose our sensations). In perception the reception of an external stimulus connects with our mental representation of it. Interpretation and language play a major role here: the subject perceives and interprets in a space defined by his or her history and culture. The artist perceives, so does the society in which he lives. The person contemplating the work is the receptacle of this paradigm.

When a person looks at an image of themselves that purports to reflect who they are but it turns out to be a reflection in a deforming mirror, the dismay it causes is such that the person has little choice but to accept and assimilate the figure proposed.

When the perceiving subject is the person looking at an image that purports to reflect who that person is, when in fact it is nothing but a reflection in a deforming mirror, the dismay it causes is such that the subject concerned has little choice: to accept and assimilate the figure proposed, silently revolt against the master's house, or deconstruct, from a genealogical perspective, the epistemicidal logics of the destruction of meaning and knowledge behind the formation of the image concerned.

It is worth remembering that the genealogical method, which certainly does not mean simply searching for the origin of a phenomenon, is not superfluous. Demonumentalising or desacralising this search for origins, which has always been considered in a monolithic and reductive manner in Romani historiography, is a real challenge. In the fine words of Michel Foucault, referring to the genealogist in Friedrich Nietzsche:

A genealogy of values, morality, asceticism and knowledge will never confuse itself with a quest for their "origins", will never neglect as inaccessible the vicissitudes of history. On the contrary, it will cultivate the details and accidents that accompany every beginning; it will be scrupulously attentive to their petty malice; it will await their emergence, once unmasked, as the face of the other. Wherever it is made to go, it will not be reticent – in "excavating the depths", in allowing time for these elements to escape from a labyrinth where no truth had ever detained them. The genealogist needs history to dispel the chimeras of the origin, somewhat in the manner of the pious philosopher who needs a doctor to exorcise the shadow of his soul. He must be able to recognise the events of history, its jolts, its surprises, its unsteady victories and unpalatable defeats – the basis of all beginnings, atavisms, and heredities. Similarly, he



must be able to diagnose the illnesses of the body, its conditions of weakness and strength, its breakdowns and resistances, to be in a position to judge philosophical discourse. History is the concrete body of a development, with its moments of intensity, its lapses, its extended periods of feverish agitation, its fainting spells; and only a metaphysician would seek its soul in the distant ideality of the origin.<sup>3</sup>

The analytical research carried out here on the Prado's collection, like that published previously on the Louvre, shows that, beyond perception, the subjects-objects represented are capable today, notably through the decoding proposed in this analysis, of summoning up the representations of them built up and proposed throughout history, using the fundamental powers of being.<sup>4</sup>

For the other is promise. He helps us understand who we are.

Every potential "I" is present in the "other". Understanding the extent of our "selves" means regarding the "other" with a gaze as benevolent as it is clairvoyant. But this Romani other present in the collections of the Prado and Louvre museums is neither a "self" nor an otherness. It is a projection, a construction, a deforming mirror.

"Hermeneutics", the word of every possibility, is the right instrument of thought to apprehend this pitfall. It is all the more crucial since it is the key to understanding the interpretation of the Romani figure prior to the age of cogito. Hermeneutics is the art of deciphering the hidden or travestied meaning of things, the art of interpreting texts, images, symbols. Ricœur would say: "interpreting, henceforth, is translating a meaning from one cultural context to another using a presumed rule of equivalence of meaning"<sup>5</sup> So hermeneutics is the science that gives access to an underlying truth, a more coherent meaning. It is a philosophy of the detour, the revelation of one text through and by means of another. The hermeneutics of the self is the implementation of a project whose ambition was to develop a philosophy of the subject not trapped in Cartesian cogito, the "exalted subject", then in the broken cogito, the "humiliated subject" of Nietzsche. The hermeneutics of the self is the operation by which a subject becomes aware of itself mediately, not only through the person of another but also through signs, language, symbols and myths. In order to understand itself the subject must thus accept this long detour through the interpretation of all the signs, symbols and myths that forge a culture, an episteme. Indeed, there can be no conceived identity without a detour via alterity. The other is indispensable to knowledge of the

---

3. Foucault M. (1971), "Nietzsche, genealogy, history", *Homage to Jean Hyppolite*, coll. Epiméthée, P.U.F, Paris.

4. Ricœur P. (1949), *Philosophie de la volonté, Le volontaire et l'involontaire*, vol. 1, Aubier, Paris.

5. Ricœur P. (1999), *Lectures 2. La contrée des philosophes*, Seuil, Paris, p. 491.

self: "The human condition is such that knowledge of the self is illusory and becomes complacency towards the self if it does not pass through the mediation of the other".<sup>6</sup> If beings are, and have a history, in order to know who they are they must tell their story, reconstitute their past in order to project themselves in thought of the self and into the future. Identity is thus narrative. All the more so the identity or identities of a people. In Jean-Paul Sartre's *Nausea*<sup>7</sup> Roquentin says, "You have to choose: live or tell". By that he means that either the individual projects himself into the future and chooses life, or he chooses to tell his story and, in so doing, rejects life. Even if Roquentin is not completely wrong and writing is sometimes mortuary (Rousseau tells his tale because he believes his death is imminent; Chateaubriand writes from beyond the grave), it is possible to reject this alternative. As in the thinking of Ricœur, the narration may hinge on another figure, that of the ethical or practical identity, embodied in a promise. It is a question of narrating oneself in order to live well, finding in the exploration of the "*idem*" (the inalterable core of the identity that time cannot corrode) and the "*ipse*" (identity in the making) a laboratory of thoughts that serves to conceive our life projects in order to transform chance into necessity then into ethic.

Indeed, access to the other is ethical from the start. It is the radical alterity that is manifest in the face of the other. The philosophy of perception once again, the feeling before the face, is twofold. The other is a source of learning, we must listen to what they have to say. The other also assumes that I am capable of receiving a message that I have not heard, yet which is both immemorial and mine. The other is life force, teaching, but also distress. I am responsible for that person. Neither master nor slave, they are a blessing.<sup>8</sup> The ethical signification of the face is founded in the sentimental immediacy of access to the other, where it is urgent to listen to the other and to help them. Defining and knowing them is left for a second phase. The other in the ethical intrigue is also immemorial: "The other, I have always met him." The precarity and the power of the other are an upheaval that has always marked the subjectivity of the individual. The other is simply the most human part of subjectivity.

## Advances and study themes

In the Prado's collection of works, with few exceptions, it is precisely this absence, this silence at the very core of the artists' relationship with Romani alterity, that is interesting. The Madrid collection is still of the utmost

---

6. Aubenque P. (2004), *La prudence chez Aristote* (4th edn), Seuil, Paris.

7. Sartre J.-P. (1938), *La Nausée*, Éditions Gallimard, Paris.

8. Levinas E. (1971), "Totality and infinity. An essay on exteriority" (4th edition), Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, The Netherlands.

interest, of course. Strangely, there is no Caravaggio-style “fortune teller” of the kind so present in the French iconographic imagination. In one painting by David Teniers II, which is not on display (Fact sheet 8, *Landscape with Gypsies*, 1641-1645, INVPO1818), we glimpse an elderly Roma, with none of the trappings, holding the hand of an old peasant wearing a red beret, saying something to him enigmatically, while pointing her finger skywards, as a warning sign. On the right, in a world where rock imposes itself as the Gypsies’ place, there are four Gypsies (including one child) looking at the scene. To the left, on the other side of the path, is the sedentary, monumental world of the peasant’s village; in the distance, a landscape bathed in light. While the Louvre reveals a disembodied ontological approach to the Romani being, the Prado offers us another reference grid, while at the same time revealing a number of common points in terms of the allegorical treatment of the Romani figure. Like the Paris museum collection, that of the Prado, bearing in mind Spain’s national particularities, affords a different approach to this otherness, allowing us to understand and decipher specificities and similarities in the pictorial, ontological and societal representations of the different Roma groups in different European countries. Parts of the analyses and their interpretations will surely differ from those inspired by the French collection. Other points will logically obey the same transnational European dynamic.

Any researcher relying on documentary and iconographic sources, that is to say, evidence, should always bear in mind that all points of view about a given reality are both selective and partial; they depend on the balance of power that determines, through the possibility of leaving a trace, the documents and the overall image a society leaves of itself. The historian must therefore strive, “against the current”<sup>9</sup> to decipher the evidence of the intentions of those who left it, for that is the only way to place historical thinking in its context. Romani historiography is very strongly marked by the “cognitive implications of the narrative choices”<sup>10</sup> of the historians and researchers who have addressed the subject, not only in the actual process of historical narrative but also, and above all, in their choice of sources and their lack of contextualisation. For decades now, Roma academics, researchers and intellectuals have often taken on the history of the different components of their people from a decolonialised, race-oriented perspective based on the ample methodological options open to initiatives emanating from the margins. From the standpoint of the philosophy of ideas and history, research has been done into the existence or otherwise of a dialectic affecting history, memory and narrative as well as an essentialist

---

9. Benjamin W. (2000), *Sur le concept d'histoire*, Œuvre t.3, (tr.) Gandillac M. de, Rochlitz R. and Rusch P., coll. Folio essais, Éditions Gallimard, Paris.

10. Ginzburg C. (2011), *Rapports de force : histoire, rhétorique, preuve*, Éditions EHESS, Paris.

temporality, a specifically Romani one. The question here is whether it is possible to consider a “time of the other”, a “time of the Gypsies”. Ian Hancock, a linguist and professor at the University of Austin in Texas, proposes breaking down Roma historical time into four periods, the names of which are based on Romani neologisms: *Teljaripe*, corresponding to the founding event; *Nakhipe*, the departure, relating to the proto-Roma era in Asia, Khorasan and Asia Minor; *Aresipe*, or the arrival of the Roma in Europe; and *Buxljaripe*, when the Roma spread out and settled all over Europe. These last two periods define the time frame that interests us in this effort to decode and contextualise the works that tell the story of the Roma in the Prado.

### **The Northern and Italian Renaissance: the Romani figure as an iconographic hinge between two visions of the world in the 15th and 16th centuries**

An initial analysis of the collection helps determine a number of lines of reflection. There is no denying the importance in this story of the 16th- and 17th-century paintings from the Flemish and Italian collections. They include works by Northern and Italian Renaissance masters such as Hieronymus Bosch, Joachim Patinir, Pieter Brueghel the Elder, Raphael and Giulio Romano. Beyond the artistic interest of the Romani theme in the paintings of these great masters, this predominance of 16th- and 17th-century works also raises the question of the use of this theme at a very precise moment in the history of European thought, a moment that would mark it up to this very day: the passage between the time of Mediaeval hermeneutics and the beginning of the time of Reason.

The Prado collection, like that of the Louvre, will help us grasp the notions of space, mobility, measurements of the world, nomadism and circulation at the end of the Middle Ages, in order better to comprehend the impact on the majority societies and therefore on the artists of the arrival, starting in the 15th century, of the different Roma groups in Europe. The mindset of the western world in the late Middle Ages was fundamentally different from our own. The radical epistemological break would reshape many aspects of thought and being in the western world. It was in this highly particular context that the Roma made their appearance in Europe.

There are some constants in the first references to the arrival of Roma groups in western Europe. First of all, the names they were given, as documented in the archives on these populations, their mobility, and the military or noble nature of the titles under which the heads of these companies presented themselves to the local authorities (which they adapted to the political and

strategic realities of the regions they passed through). But also, the rapid way this image of Roma shifted towards that of a contemptible body, the phenomenology of a hideous body that, over time, turned into a corpse. The archives, which often tell us as much if not more about the state of mind of those who compiled them than about the subject in hand, provide a source of detailed information about these companies: number of members, description of their weapons, the women, the children, how they dressed. At the head of these groups they tell of princes, dukes, kings, counts as well as *voivodes* or commanders, who would represent them in their dealings with the authorities. Yet there is scarce information about the sociological organisation of these companies, which might comprise dozens or sometimes hundreds of individuals. We do know that they were horsemen and heavily armed. Their leader was legally responsible before the authorities for the actions of the members of his troop. If there is any description at all, it is left to historians to investigate the impact the arrival of these populations in the 15th century had on how the rural and urban societies of the late Middle Ages related to "the other". Such large-scale population movements were nothing new or unique; it was not unusual to see troops or pilgrims passing by.

Initially, these companies carried imperial safe-conducts signed by Sigismund of Hungary (which was why they were called Bohemians in France), and later they were granted the universal protection of papal bulls, albeit of questionable authenticity.<sup>11</sup> The archives tell us that these companies were heading for Santiago de Compostela in penitence, and quite logically using the routes that were still being used by pilgrims, particularly the "French Way" at the time. Because of this they received the financial and logistical support to which all pilgrims were entitled.

Despite this leitmotiv in Romani historiography that deploys religious atonement as a justification for the mobility of the companies, there is no actual mention in the archives of a particularly significant presence of "Egyptians" on the roads to Santiago de Compostela. British researcher Angus Fraser rightly calls this approach to the story of the origins of the migrations "the great trick". It is very important that we re-examine the logic behind it. Many questions remain as to how this first interpretation of the origins and the reasons for the migrations developed. It is a subject that could be studied from the perspective of any number of disciplines (micro-history, global/connected history, margin studies, ethnic studies), and is therefore invaluable in understanding the societies of the late Middle Ages and modern history through a minority

---

11. Papal bull issued by Pope Martin V concerning safe passage granted to Andreu, Duke of Little Egypt, 15 December 1423, National Library, New French acquisitions 6729, No. 7, Paris.

prism. It is disappointing that the outlook of western universities has been incapable of abandoning its ethnocentrism in order to address the peripheries of knowledge. The most striking example of this lack of methodological rigour is that no consideration has been given to problematising Romani mobility. Historians have assumed pilgrimage to have been the only reason for companies' movements even though no documentary evidence has been found that Santiago de Compostela was actually what drew them to Europe. Recognisable as they were by their attire and their customs, no archive describes the arrival of these "Egyptians" in Santiago.

To gain a better understanding of the processes underpinning the artistic creation of the first Romani figures and/or the use of Romani imagery in western art from the 15th century onwards, we must question this lack of interpretative objectivity on the part of the authorities that produced the archives, and a fortiori of subsequent historians, regarding the reasons given for the mobility of these first companies. Was it a strategy of the Romani companies when they arrived or an invention of the imagination of the majority societies – or perhaps a little of both? Why has the issue of the movement of these groups never been investigated in relation to the two main flows of people in Europe: pilgrimages, of course, but also military movements? This duality is occasionally outlined by historiography, but never historicised. Based on evidence in the archives, the works of certain historians discuss the military relationships and ancient ties of lineage that existed between France's rural nobility and "Egyptian households", and thus between the seigniorial troops and Bohemian companies. Yet many of the connections that could help historicise these relationships are absent from the historical narrative. One is the role of the balance of power these alliances represented in terms of peripheral resistances to the centrality of the state. Another is the importance of the role played by these alliances and of the Romani marker in the construction of Europe's nation states. But also, and above all, there is evidence of the mobility of a people whose life was essentially based in those days on subsistence activities related to the military and mercenary worlds.

The first document that bears witness to the presence of Roma on the Iberian Peninsula is dated 12 January 1425. Alfonso V was King of Aragon. In Saragossa, with Queen María, he issued a three-month safe-conduct authorising "our beloved and devoted" Don Juan of Little Egypt to travel round his kingdom.

By a complaint lodged on 8 May 1425 we know that Count Thomas of Little Egypt obtained the same privileges. As he passed through Alagón (Saragossa) with his family, two white dogs – a greyhound and a mastiff – were stolen from him. On 26 November 1434 we find Count Thomas again, asking for a copy of the letter from 1425. He was granted passage a third time on 25 April 1435 and

on 23 May he crossed the border again with his company. The tax collector for Jaca and Canfranc wanted him to pay the tax corresponding to his belongings: "horses, silk garments, gold, silver and other items.... He refused to pay and presented the document in which the King of Aragon authorised him, his people and his family to travel the world in pilgrimage for the Christian faith.

The pilgrim ways to Santiago de Compostela were obviously widely used by Gypsies coming from the north and travelling in what is now Spain. The first document we know of in Navarra is a donation by Queen Blanca of Navarra, Infanta of Aragon, dating from 1435. The queen received the Rom company in Olite. This group of Roma had been given a safe-conduct by King Alfonso V 10 years earlier in Saragossa.

On 4 March 1460 in Daroca, King Juan II of Aragon, former Duke of Montblanc and brother of Alfonso V the Magnanimous, issued a new safe-conduct to Jácobo of Little Egypt and the 100 people accompanying him. On 23 May 1460 the *consellers* of Igualada, Catalonia, issued a safe-conduct reserved for functionaries to Count Don Jaime of Little Egypt. On 22 November 1462, Thomas and Martin, both Counts of Little Egypt, at the head of a 100-strong retinue, were welcomed with great pomp in Jaén by the *Condestable* Miguel Lucas de Iranzo.<sup>12</sup>

The first Roma whose presence in Murcia was documented were Count Jácobo and his group on 24 July 1471. In Rioja, it was Don John, Count of Little Egypt, who is mentioned in the archives on 16 September 1476. The document was signed by Juan II of Aragon. On 23 September 1480, Count Jácobo received a passport from the hands of the royal couple in Medina del Campo, allowing him passage there as a pilgrim with his company.

Until 1485 these groups arrived in Spain by the French Way to Santiago de Compostela. They were thus said to come from *Egypte Mineure*, or Little Egypt, and called Egyptians.

All over Europe, from the kingdom of Hungary to that of France, from Germany to the Netherlands, from Aragon or Castile to Messina and Forli, the Roma who arrived were presented in the official documents of the late 15th century under military and seigniorial titles. As a result they were initially fairly well received by the western European nobility and sometimes even considered their peers. As nobles coming from an idealised East, having lost their fiefs for the Christian cause, as high-ranking penitents forced to abjure the Christian faith under the Muslim yoke, the nobility was obliged to help them. They

---

12. Mata J. C., Arco Moya J. del and Arco Moya J. del (2001), *Relación de los hechos del muy magnífico e más virtuoso Señor... don Miguel Lucas muy digno Condestable de Castilla*, Jaén University, 2001.

were treated as knights (basic members of the nobility with a military role) but also sometimes as “illustrious” figures (*inclitos*), as was the case in Aragon or in Andalusia.

However, the migration of these groups south of the Pyrenees may be connected with the Reconquest and the Granada Crusade.

In Spain until around 1480, Egyptians and Bohemians, or *Bohemios*, were the terms used to designate Roma. From that time on, however, particularly in the Archives of the Aragonese Crown, we begin to see the word *Grecianos*. The fall of the last pockets of resistance against the Turks in Albania, Epirus and the Peloponnese triggered strong immigration from those territories, passing through the Kingdom of Naples and Corsica on their way. It was an important maritime trading and communication zone at the time, both coveted and shared by Aragon, Venice, Genoa and the Ottoman Empire.

Logically, it is the Archives of the Aragonese Crown<sup>13</sup> that inform us of the arrival of this second wave of Roma in the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the 15th century. The *Grecianos* thus arrived mainly by sea, mostly thanks to the Genoese fleet, many saying they came from Negroponte, now called Euboea, after stopping over in Corsica, often in Calvi. These groups of men and women are described in the archives as well equipped and well armed. They are reported to have said that they were pressured by the Turks into heading for Aragon. They had no “Counts” or “Dukes” at their head but “Captains” – a military term once again, but this time in keeping with the models in use in the eastern Mediterranean. In 1493 a group led by Andreu Carranza Catalá set sail from Calvi towards the Iberian Peninsula but was captured by the Catalanian fleet.

It is important to historicise the arrival of these *Grecianos* in order better to understand their reasons for heading for Spain. As a matter of fact, they arrived at a time when mobilisation for the “Granada Crusade”, the Catholic reconquest of the last Muslim stronghold in Spain, was at its height. Some documentary sources tell of *Greciano* Captains near the Moorish border. The final onslaught against the kingdom of Granada launched by the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon took place between 1482 and 1492. It was not characterised by great battles, but mainly by annual campaigns designed to ruin the kingdom of Granada, and sieges where artillery made the difference. This war effort required a constant supply of cavalry, weapons and artefacts for all the ancillary activities involved at the end of the Middle Ages in moving, supplying and maintaining military forces. It was thus a great opportunity

---

13. Archive of the Crown of Aragon Reg. 2573.



for the *Egipcios* and especially the *Grecianos*, who contributed to the military campaign but also started to settle in the towns and villages between Seville and Cadiz on the one hand, and Malaga on the other. Armed conflicts have always been at the origin of the economic resources of Romani populations, both directly and indirectly, whether they have been mercenaries or soldiers or thanks to their skills in crafts, arts or other areas essential to military life (e.g. metalwork and weapon-making, horse-trading and music).

In mediaeval times space was experienced rather than perceived. The mental and intellectual outlook of the Middle Ages allows us to speak of nomadism in this respect. Concerned more about the world as it is rather than moved by the desire to change it, the nomadic lifestyle,<sup>14</sup> indifferent to causalities, often appears to us to border on anarchy.

The first works in the Prado collection, those relating to the Northern Renaissance psyche, and more particularly *The Haywain Triptych* by Hieronymus Bosch (1512-1515, Fact sheet 1), the master work in this selection, clearly reflect the mental, ideological and religious configuration of this pivotal period in the history of thought, between the Middle Ages and the Modern Era, when the Romani figure first appeared in everyday European life. At this turning point between two ways of looking at the world, the influences that enabled the artist to depict his favourite moral themes were legion: the Bible, popular processions, manuscripts, alchemy, executions, chronicles of the Americas, flights of fantasy.

*The Haywain Triptych* is a moralistic allegory, a biblical metaphor for the fleeting, mortal nature of earthly things. Open, the triptych is about sin. In Hieronymus Bosch's work the line between religious and moralistic painting is a very fine one. The central panel, the main scene, is a mirror. There is the hay wagon; the panel on the left shows paradise, while the one on the right depicts Hell. When closed, these two panels represent *homo viator*, the wayfarer, making his way through life.

Man, regardless of social class or place of origin, is full of desire to acquire and enjoy material possessions, seduced and deceived by the Devil. The artist's message is meant to encourage us to forgo earthly goods and pleasures in order to avoid eternal damnation. Humankind is corrupted by sin.

The hay wagon symbolises wealth, honours and pleasures. It trundles towards the granary, drawn by seven monsters symbolising the seven deadly sins. Some characters are trying to scramble up onto the wagon, while others have already fallen off and are being crushed under the wheels.

---

14. Deleuze G. and Guattari F. (1980), *Mille plateaux*, Éditions de Minuit, Paris.

In this painting Bosch condemns four major vices:

- ▶ animal impulses such as aggressiveness, the pleasures of the flesh and sex;
- ▶ the craving for pleasures, merrymaking and dancing;
- ▶ vices relating to work and idleness, wealth and poverty;
- ▶ wanton violence.

Lost men and women blindly follow the wagon, paying no attention to the redeeming figure of Christ, looking down on the scene from a cloud above. Only a solitary angel seems to be aware of this possibility of salvation.

From the viewpoint of its composition, it is possible to read this painting along two symmetrical axes. Horizontally, the painting is divided into three successive bands corresponding to the different planes in the picture and following the movement of the hay wagon, from left to right. One band, in the foreground, represents the parasites in society. Amidst a group of ordinary people right at the front, two Romani women, one of whom is a fortune teller, are easily recognisable. Above this scene, a pale yellow band almost empty of people shows the route the procession is following. In front of the wagon muddled clusters of figures show the violence that inevitably comes with cupidity. Behind the wagon two groups reflect each other in symmetrical triangles, whose points fall either side of the grinding wheel. Then, in the background, a vast landscape spreads out, composed of mountains, lakes and some human dwellings. Further off in the distance, in bluish hues, are the mountains and sky, with Christ in pain looking down from a shining cloud. Vertically, the painting can be read from bottom to top around a central axis. It begins with the tooth puller with his pockets full of hay, then moves up to scenes of violence, only to pause at the foot of the bale of hay in a voluptuous scene of people oblivious to the agitation around them, before culminating in the figure of Christ, right at the top of the panel in a white cloud shining with gold and heavenly light, looking down as vice continues to turn people away from him in spite of his sacrifice. It is the foreground that particularly interests us for the purposes of this work. A child leads a blind man by the hand, a reference to the picaresque Spanish novel, a clear sign of the circulation of ideas and themes towards the end of the Middle Ages. On their right, two Romani women, outsiders and mistrusted, recognisable by their dark complexion, their wide, round hats and their shawls, are purposely placed in the centre of the picture.<sup>15</sup> One is taking the hand of a young, pale-skinned lady whose fine clothes tell us she is of noble stock. So the Romani woman is a fortune teller, an activity frowned on by the Church. She holds a baby

---

15. Turbans and flat round hats were typical Gypsy dress at the time, as was wearing a coarse shawl draped over the shoulder.

against her breast, tucked inside the fold of her robe, while a bare-legged child reaches a hand out to touch the rich woman's dress. The other Romani woman sits on the ground, busy washing the bottom of the baby lying across her lap, using water from a bowl on the ground beside her. Behind her are a jug, a pig, something roasting on a spit, and a dog.

Bosch's work and *The Haywain Triptych* bring us back to this upheaval in our conception of the world that occurred at the end of the Middle Ages.<sup>16</sup> Mediaeval society, in the throes of change, was preparing to experience what Michel Foucault called an epistemological caesura: a fundamental structural shift from a way of being perceived through the prism of hermeneutics, and therefore interpretation (of which the ontological Romani figure seems to be the paradigm) to a modern society built on reason and cogito. It was in this caesura that the Roma appeared on the scene, like grains of sand in the machine. Between two worlds, one oriental and the other western, between two historical milestones, the Middle Ages and the Modern Period, the figure of the Roma, known by the majority societies of the time by exonyms such as Egyptian, Saracen, Bohemian or even Tatar, shifted over the course of a few generations from alterity (from a mirror-type relationship with the other) to exteriority, imposed by the advent of normativity. In the space of a few decades, a radical shift would occur in the symbolic and artistic representation of Romani individuality (as expressed so well in the words of the Spanish Kale poet Pepe Maya: "*a los cortejosuntuosos suceden los harapos*" (all their finery will turn to rags)).<sup>17</sup>

Prior to the advent of this change, Mediaeval mobility was all about gesture, "*la raison des gestes*", as Jean-Claude Schmitt called it.<sup>18</sup> The Middle Ages, at least from the 9th century onwards, were considered a civilisation of "gesture". Gesture is representation. In the logic of the hermeneutic posture, it is both image and symbol. Of course, gesture is developed fully in dance and dance is not the least of the Romani forms of expression. Both a collective entertainment and a manifestation of group solidarities, dancing is the expression of the ineffable movements of the heart and the senses. Dance has long been liturgical. But around 1500, when the great fear of witches emerged, particularly in Flanders, where it reached its paroxysm, dance became an element of the Sabbath. Many archive documents from that period attest to the existence of contracts between towns and Bohemian companies to have them perform

---

16. Foucault M. (1966), *The order of things: an archaeology of the human sciences*, Éditions Gallimard, Paris.

17. Jose Heredia Maya, (1973), *Penar Ocono*, Ed. Instituto de Cultura Gitana.

18. Schmitt J.-C. (1990), *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval*, Éditions Gallimard, Paris.

in religious celebrations.<sup>19</sup> Once again this pivotal period was a prime setting for Romani empowerment. At the same time a long spate of clerical invective against the theatre began, as the ideal scene and opportunity for the socialisation of bodies, vices and sin.<sup>20</sup>

This “age of reason of gesture”, of a hermeneutics of the body, implies an acute awareness of man and his physical presence in the world, his weight, the sense of his body as the basis of his empirical knowledge of the world around him. This presence in the world through the body remains the mark of a vitalist Romani being-in-the-world.

While poor people, beggars and street entertainers had hitherto been perfectly tolerated by society, towards the end of the Middle Ages laws appeared that challenged their status. They gradually came to be perceived and treated as parasites.

As early as the 14th century, but above all in the 15th and 16th centuries, numerous decrees and orders outlawed long lists of people and activities which were henceforth shunned by society. The insane and the undesirable suffered the same fate, at least in art. This deleterious process reached its climax in the Netherlands in 1525. In Flanders as nowhere else in Europe the system of assistance for the needy was revised downwards. Two phenomena were in play: socio-economic polarisation that left many people without a job; and the emergence of a middle-class ideology characterised by sedentarism, industriousness and urban sociability. In short, the advent of normativity. Attacks on anything that was considered incompatible with these newly emerging values became increasingly vehement.

The “*Pragmática*” (or Pragmatic Decree) of Medina Del Campo, signed in Madrid by the *Reyes Católicos* on 4 March 1499, was the first legal text directed

---

19. In 1479, during the Corpus Christi feast in Guadalajara, María Cabrera, the Gypsy woman who gave a son to Diego de Mendoza, the future Cardinal Mendoza, performed with her troupe, probably that of Count Martin of Little Egypt, as was the custom at religious and wedding celebrations. Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza y Luna, Count of Saldana, great-grandson of the Marquis of Santillana, fell in love with her, fascinated by her beauty and her horse-riding skills. He took her in and provided her with “*mesa y mantel para que sin peregrinar viviese*” (board and lodging, that she might live without travelling). The *Nobiliario del Cardenal Mendoza* (RAH, Colección Salazar, C II; Biblioteca Nacional, sección de Manuscritos, signatura II, 517) tells how “*por varios años a todos los gitanos el que viniendo a Guadalajara, luego visitasen la casa de los duques como muy parientes della y se mostraban con lo cual yvan muy contentos de parentesco*” (for many years all the Gypsies who went to Guadalajara visited the Duke’s house, as close relatives, and were very happy about the family ties). In 1481, Don Martín de Mendoza the Gypsy was born of this union, the future cardinal “*fue hombre de buena estatura y moreno conforme a su madre*” (who was a man of good standing and dark like his mother).

20. Martinez-Pizarro, J. (1989), *A rhetoric of the scene*, Toronto University Press, Toronto.

against Roma in general. It may be considered the seed of a whole structural “epistemicidal” and “idiomicidal” policy against Roma, born in the ferment of the “historical modernity” that has since developed and evolved.

Romani people were now required to find a master or a job.

The law prohibited them from travelling in groups, an offence punishable the first time round by 100 lashes of the whip, and thereafter by having an ear cut off and being held in irons for 60 days, before being banished once and for all.

Controlling the Romani population, geographically or ontologically, in keeping with the new normative standards of the majority population, was the primary aim of Europe’s institutional authorities, thereby making the irreversible switch to considering the other as external to the self.

From the *Pragmática* of Medina del Campo until 1783 all laws concerning Gypsies had one of two aims: assimilation by “sedentarisation”, or more precisely lack of mobility, be it physical or ontological, or else expulsion. Both aims served the same purpose: to annihilate a specific way of being, epistemicide or even physical elimination pure and simple. An epistemological framework is a system of sense and meaning built up over time and collectively maintained, thanks to which a group understands and appraises the individual lives of its members and the collective life of the group. Whenever humanly possible, the members of an epistemological community must be capable of voluntarily changing their framework, based on their own learning and on how they understand themselves, on the strength of a set of reasons with which they identify, having worked on, thought about and debated the change. When a group’s epistemic framework changes without its members’ knowledge, through the action of another group and in terms they do not understand, then the group will lose its ontological autonomy, and the members of the group will become victims of an epistemological injustice.

If we are to understand the turnaround in the perception of Romani otherness and the introduction by the Spanish crown of a body of anti-Gypsy laws, we must examine the socio-economic and cultural context of the time as well as the structural factors that facilitated the slide from alterity to externality.

In *The order of things* in 1966 and “The archaeology of knowledge” in 1968 Foucault classifies the “break” between Mediaeval and Renaissance hermeneutic thinking and the hegemony of modern reason as a “great epistemological caesura”.

This “radical event”, as he calls it, occurred in the West when the spirit of the Renaissance gave way to modern rationalism.

It is precisely in the course of that decisive epistemological caesura that the public authorities' perception of the Roma changed and, as a result, the way their populations were treated in Europe.

By way of a narrative illustration, he proposes a reinterpretation of *Don Quijote de La Mancha*, by Cervantes, which he considers "the first modern work of literature because in it we see the cruel reason of identities and differences make endless sport of signs and similitudes; because in it language breaks off its old kinship with things and enters into that lonely sovereignty from which it will reappear, in its separate state, only as literature, as resemblance enters there into what, for it, is an age of madness and imagination".<sup>21</sup>

This fundamental change could be summed up as follows. First, the founding event: the other becomes a negative externality. The conquest of America, the expulsion of the Moors and Jews from the kingdom of Castile, the *Pragmática* of Medina del Campo, all these things are part of this relegation of the other to the margins. Prior to Descartes' "*cogito, ergo sum*" (I think, therefore I am), it was the age of "*ego conquiro, ego extermino*" (I conquer and I exterminate), the condition *sine qua non* for the advent of all-powerful Reason.<sup>22</sup>

The Roma, the alterity on the inside, could not pass through this preparation of the genesis of epistemicide unscathed. On the contrary, when one studies the coercive measures taken against these populations, the body of laws announces the major epistemicidal and idiomicidal processes yet to come. They could even be considered a testing ground for them.

With the Tortosa controversy (leading to the political expulsion of the Jews in 1414), the *Limpieza de Sangre* (purity-of-blood) laws in 1449, which expelled the Moors and *Marranos*, the *Pragmática* of Medina del Campo in 1499 against the Roma, then the Valladolid conference in 1527 to determine whether native Americans were actually human beings, the premises of the theorisation of alterity and race were in place.

The second and third phases correspond to Descartes' hegemony of Reason and the generalisation of genocidal and epistemicidal policies.

With Descartes the age of resemblance drew to a close. A space for new knowledge opened up, another knowledge where, through an essential break in the western world, it would no longer be a question of resemblance but of identities and differences. In the early 17th century thought ceased to

---

21. Foucault M. (1966), *Les mots et les choses*, Éditions Gallimard, Paris.

22. Dussel E. (1993), "Europa, modernidad y Eurocentrismo" in Ed. Lander, *La colonidad del saber: eurocentrismo y ciencias sociales. Perspectivas latinoamericanas*, CLASCO, Buenos Aires.

move in the element of resemblance. Resemblance was no longer the form of knowledge but a source of error.

Descartes replaced *pantocrator*, Almighty God, erecting an altar to almighty Reason, deifying the ego. Since the ontological duality he imposed between body and spirit, the all-powerful “I” has replaced God. And what is more, this “I” dialogues with itself, constantly questioning itself in a self-centred dialectic. It is placeless, asocial monologue. It has no consideration for alterity; it denies it. The universality of reason denies all plural knowledges. With modernity, the production of knowledge in the West is deprived of a fundamental limb: the plural.

Today, western knowledge production structures continue to use this model. Even today universality seen as the abstraction of particularities is the paradigm of the validity of knowledge and science in western universities. All knowledge that purports to be at one with the political or geopolitical body but also with the gendered body is in total opposition with the myth of decontextualised knowledge.

However, the “I think, therefore I am” of Descartes that structures modern thinking and supports the idolised universalism of the tradition of thought of western man germinates in the pure experience of otherness and in his desire and his need to shatter it. With the conquest of America, and the subsequent Valladolid conference that would discuss whether Indians were human, the epistemic processes were put in place. Genocides became an integral part of the founding myth of modernity. For it was modernity that turned alterity into exteriority. It was modernity, with the conquest of the New World but also with the expulsion of the Moors and Jews from the kingdom of Castile, the *Pragmáticas*, the edicts, the laws against Egyptians and other Bohemians, the Great Gypsy Round-up of July 1749, the thousands of women burnt at the stake by the Inquisition because of their “other” knowledge, and slavery, that rationalised the epistemicides, the spiriticides and the genocides.

It was in the name of a dominant episteme, a dominant rationality that the margins, at best, and ab-normality, at worst, were in fact determined. Modernity is essentially a European phenomenon. A European phenomenon, but one forged in a dialectic with non-European alterities. Modernity became hegemonic when Europe asserted itself as the centre of world history. Peripheries and margins are therefore fully part of its self-definition. Very rapidly, modernity would include a rational development concept while at the same time assuming and developing an irrational myth, which would serve it, even to this day, to justify its genocidal violences.

The universality imposed by modernity is a fairly recent concept. The first Age of Modernity began in 1492 with the conquest of America, the expulsion

of the Moors and Jews and the end of the Nasrid kingdom. Alterity became exteriority. Its second age would be that of the Enlightenment. But it would not become fully mature until the 19th century, in its third phase, with the Industrial Revolution. Only from that time on could Europe consider itself the centre of the world. Eurocentrism and Hellenocentrism made it lose sight of the fact that the orient, China and the Silk Road and the Ottoman Empire before it, were not just a centre but the main axis of the knowledges of the world.

It was also, however, in a context of great social and economic crisis that the *Reyes Católicos* devised the *Pragmática* of Medina del Campo. The expulsion of the Jews and Moors paralysed a large sector of the country's economy and drastically reduced the available manpower. The riches that arrived from the Americas were reinvested to maintain the "European Empire". The kingdom experienced an unprecedented economic crisis. Obscurantism, intolerance and poverty considerably increased the numbers of the marginal groups, who were the main victims of this crisis. In addition, the secularisation of society caused numerous, religious orders, often nomadic, to be disbanded. The monks and brothers in those orders abandoned their habits and swelled the ever-increasing ranks of marginal people. And it is important, above all, not to lose sight of the fact that this era was precisely that of the consolidation of the states and, as a result, of the taking of censuses, that is, the centralised control of the people. It was in this context of crisis that the body of laws against Roma endeavoured to restore order by social regulation. The ultimate aim remained the disappearance of Romani alterity and that is the design that appears in filigree in all the subsequent laws, generating a process that culminated in the tragic night of the Great Gypsy Round-up of 30 July 1749.

Bosch's work perfectly illustrates this profound change in the consideration of the margins. Bosch associates sin, madness, idiocy and reprehensible behaviour with a large group of people, those who live on the margins.

Yet Bosch is still at the epistemological crossroads. If reason and formalism characterise his pictorial synthesis of his era, on the border between the Middle Ages and the Modern Era, one thing ties the artist to the Mediaeval Period in spite of the vehemence he displays against the popular classes. His lack of regard for the lesser culture of his time notwithstanding, Hieronymus Bosch was strongly influenced by folklore: customs, rituals and celebrations, symbolic objects, popular proverbs and metaphors. Bosch uses all this cultural material, deconstructing it to serve the bourgeois moral system. Therein lies Bosch's paradox, in this constant tension between harsh criticism of popular culture and his almost systematic use of references emanating from the people. To achieve this he mainly uses visual ploys, satyrs and inverted symbolism. He rails against the folly of the masses while making use of their motifs and



themes. Clearly here, in his portrayal of Roma ab-normativity through the two female figures (bearing in mind that witch-hunting was rife in 16th-century Flanders), he was unable to resist an ancient and recurrent trait attributed to Romani women, that of the loving mother, in a rather wild but nevertheless non-threatening natural setting.<sup>23</sup>

Another paradox further complicates our understanding of Bosch's universe through the prism of this epistemological caesura. He condemns marginality while formally paying tribute to it. The reverse side of the triptych depicts a wayfarer, the only lower-class vagabond considered with benevolence in the iconography of Hieronymus Bosch. An old man bent under the weight of his load, fending off a growling dog with his staff. He is a good man, looking back over the years. What he sees is robbery, fighting and the punishment that awaits the people of little faith portrayed inside the polyptych.

Anchorites and hermits are virtuous characters. Any other type of outsider is turned into the embodiment of the ills, vices and aberrations of society. The artist casts his fellow men, especially the poor, into the flames of Hell, yet he makes a model of a humble wandering peddler, a ragged vagabond who in his day almost certainly led a life that was not devoid of sin.

What a lot of paradoxes in his world! Such praise of restraint, composure, wisdom and orderly living, while his art is marked by a series of extraordinary pictorial and iconographic inventions of such astounding liberty!

In all Bosch's work the tone is extremely moralising, clearly designed to reform his audience. He defends the values of the nascent urban bourgeois society. The codification of his art, however, is such that to our eyes it can appear complex and hermetic. The paradoxes inherent in the wealth of his artistic universe have led in some cases to an ambiguity of interpretation that has caused some people to see him as a painter inclined towards heterodoxy. But the moral system he illustrates is at once rationalistic and formalistic. Vice and sin are not just abstract concepts but relate directly to the standards of this newly emerging middle class.

Bosch's work is certainly one of the best vectors for appreciating the importance of contextualisation and interdisciplinarity, the only methodological key to understanding the references and world view of an era and its episteme.

A more formal analysis of the collection, and particularly the works of the Flemish and Italian Renaissance, reveals a second clue to deciphering the works that interest us in the Prado collection, namely the importance of

---

23. See the *Triptych of the Virgin in Majesty*, anonymous Flemish tapestry, Louvre, 1485 (Richelieu Aisle, 1st floor, Millefleurs, room 508).

landscape and the place the Romani figure occupies in it. A particularity of the Prado Museum's collection, from Patinir to Teniers II, there is no denying that the story of landscape is fundamental here.

Dürer called Joachim Patinir "*der gute Landschaftsmaler*" (the good landscape painter). The Prado Museum has a particularly important set of works by the Flemish artist that gives a good idea of his style. There is a *Saint Jerome* in a magnificent landscape of splendid shades of green, the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (1518-1520, Fact sheet 2) or the unnerving *The Temptations of Saint Anthony the Abbot* (1520-1524, Fact sheet 3), to which Quentin Massys also contributed, not to mention the incomparable *Charon Crossing the Styx*, where classical tradition and Mediaeval thought combine once again. His mental and referential universe is also the materialisation of a decisive thought. Generally speaking the mysterious nature of the components of Patinir's landscapes is obvious at first glance. It is the first time the geography of the world is represented in a natural manner. In it many specialists have recognised the landscapes of his childhood in what is now Wallonia. However, with Patinir a dialectic appears in the landscape, between realism, as the manner of representing the external appearance of a thing, and a broader concept of representation that might pass through a metaphorical approach.

As usual, reason and hermeneutism are interlinked. In the history of art, landscape constantly wavers between realism and symbolism. Patinir, however, achieves a veritable revolution.

According to Pliny the Elder it was a certain Studius or Ludius (the spelling is uncertain) under the reign of Augustus who first invented a "delightful" style of decorating walls:

villas, harbours, landscape gardens, sacred groves, woods, fields, fish-ponds, straits, streams and shores, any scene in short that took the fancy. In these he introduced figures of people on foot or in boats, and on land of people coming up to country houses, either on donkeys or in carriages, besides figures of fishers and fowlers, of hunters or even of grape harvesters. Among his works we know well the men approaching a villa through a swamp... with many other scenes of like vivacity and infinite humour<sup>24</sup>

So although in Antiquity there was indeed a relationship with the landscape and material surroundings, it would appear that the Middle Ages took no interest in the representation of the world, the here and now surrounding the subject. Landscape was even considered negative. A change slowly set

---

24. The Elder Pliny's *Chapters on the history of art*, Jex-Blake, K. (1967), (translator).

in during the early 14th century, marking an initially very sketchy interest in naturalism. The 15th century, with a painter like Van Eyck,<sup>25</sup> for example, witnessed a transition from the symbolic to the real. But the radical change came at the end of the 15th century, with Patinir. The Flemish model would become fashionable all over Europe, playing with the codes of illusionism. The picture becomes a window through which the world seems real; 16th-century artists went even further and gave themselves a place in actually elaborating the landscape by adopting a scientific approach. Dürer and Leonardo da Vinci, for example, took an interest in the workings of water and the wind. But Patinir's veritable revolution was perspective. So that the landscape could fill the painting, Patinir devised a new relationship with it: parallel bands of landscape superimposed and fading into the distance. The scenes in the foreground are viewed from above, in a plunging view, and are to be examined with attention. As the landscape retreats into the distance, the point of view comes upwards to eye level and the vision is more telescopic. The natural and human elements of the landscape are depicted face-on and not from above, no matter what the place.

These are the landscapes in which Romani figures appear. *The Temptations of Saint Anthony the Abbot* (1520-1524, Fact sheet 3) show various episodes of the temptations to which Saint Anthony was subjected during his spiritual retreat. The central scene was painted by Quentin Massys and the rest of the painting by Patinir. Lust, in the guise of the three courtesans, attempts to seduce Saint Anthony. The apple, the rosary and the monkey are symbols respectively of temptation, the fall and sin. In spite of the large size of this main scene, it is the landscape that gives structure to the story. It illustrates three other events in Saint Anthony's life. On the far left we see him reading in the quiet setting of a hermitage. On the far right a queen and her ladies-in-waiting represent temptation. Some are naked, while others enjoy a banquet served by a toad. It is the central scene, however, that is of particular interest to us here. In the centre of the composition we see the anchorite in his hut, assailed by demons. Amongst them, two hybrid female figures are identifiable by the artist's contemporaries as Gypsies because of the flat, round hats they are wearing. There is no doubt about it, once again this is an allegorical image of vice and sin in Romani guise. Yet as with Hieronymus Bosch, what contradictions and anti-nomic uses of the characteristic attributes of Romani women! Patinir's *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (1518-1520, Fact sheet 2) depicts a nursing Virgin Mary, her head wrapped in a turban once again after the fashion of Romani women. The association of Romani imagery with Marian iconography and the flight into Egypt was very common in those days. Already described in the essay in the

---

25. Jan Van Eyck, *The Madonna of Chancellor Rolin*, 1435, Louvre Museum, Paris.

first part of this collection, “Roma at the Louvre: a disembodied otherness”, through the works of Raphael, Giulio Romano or Nicolò dell’Abbate, we find it again in Patinir, but a few years later it would be deprecation and sin that would feature Roma attributes.

So, before this negative stereotype image of the internal otherness known as Roma, Sinto or Kalo became the norm and was subsequently given new names – Egyptian, Bohemian, Gypsy, Tsigane then Traveller, these foreigners from “Little Egypt”, as they were often called in the chronicles of the late Middle Ages, and whose presence in western Europe was increasingly felt from the 15th century onwards, were initially positively associated with four archetypal faces of western Mediaeval culture: biblical Egypt; the face of exile (mobility) strongly linked to the world of the Old Testament; the devoted, nursing mother; nature and the figure of the savage. In Patinir’s *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* all four ingredients are present. The Virgin Mary, wearing a turban in the Romani style, sits in a rocky landscape with a dark forest in the background. She is giving the breast to her baby. On the right is a reference to the Massacre of the Innocents. To the left lies Heliopolis, the city where, according to the Apocrypha, the Holy Family sought shelter during their seven-year flight. On his way back from the city, Saint Joseph is returning to his family holding a bowl, probably containing food for the mother of Christ.

*The Holy Family*, also known as *La Perla* by Raphael and Giulio Romano (1518, Fact sheet 4), like *The Visitation*, a joint work by Raphael, Giulio Romano and Giovanni Penni (1517, Fact sheet 5), displays the same, positively connotated, hermeneutic interpretation of the female Romani figure. We have seen this interpretation previously, in our work on the Louvre collection: two faces of a spiritual treatment of the Romani presence.

First, the Egyptian figure of exile, mobility, the injustice of persecution by the pharaoh or Herod, in the Flemish triptych of *The Glorious Virgin* (Louvre Fact sheet 1) or in the preparatory drawing for *Moses Saved from the Water* by Nicolò dell’Abbate (Louvre Fact sheet 4). Then the hermeneutic figure of the interpreter and the annunciator, proposed by Raphael in *The Great Holy Family* (Louvre Fact sheet 2) and its corollary by Giulio Romano, *The Small Holy Family* (Louvre Fact sheet 3) in the person of Saint Elisabeth, mother of Saint John the Baptist and annunciator of the coming and the death of Jesus Christ, dressed in the manner of the Roma of that era.

In *The Visitation* by Romano, Penni and Raphael, in a pyramidal composition, we see a pregnant Mary with her cousin, Saint Elisabeth, whose features are those of an old woman. Behind them a landscape, and in the distance, as if announcing Jesus’ sacrifice, the scene of Christ being baptised by Saint John

the Baptist in the River Jordan. Saint Elisabeth's hair is bound up in a turban in the Romani fashion of the day. As the mother of Saint John the Baptist, she is enigmatic, an annunciator, a hermeneut, and as such she is portrayed with the attributes of a Romani woman.

In many scenes from the 15th and 16th centuries we find female figures like Saint Anne as well as images of the Virgin and Child dressed in a similar way or wearing the flat round hat also characteristic of Bohemian women. Examples include the works of Boccaccio, dell'Abbate, Correggio, Ansaldo, Mantegna or Titian in other European collections.

The same characteristic headwear is found in the strange work by Pieter Brueghel the Elder *The Triumph of Death* (1562-1563, Fact sheet 6). All through the 15th and the early 16th centuries macabre dances were painted on church walls and in cemeteries in northern Europe. Initially, they depicted revenants and men of all social conditions and were meant to show the vanity of social distinctions in order to encourage more spiritual aspirations. Brueghel's painting is a moral work; more than a mere saraband, it portrays the invasion of the world by Death at the head of an army of skeletons. Some of the bodies strewn over the ground and the people being pushed towards the coffin are wearing headwear like that worn by Roma of the time.

### **Exteriority at the service of power: armed service**

Beyond the note on the representation of Romani alterity through headwear, Brueghel's *The Triumph of Death* is the ideal pretext for pointing out the dynamics of the presence of Bohemians and Egyptians in France and Spain through armed service and royal and seigniorial patronage.

Many documentary sources attest to the participation of "Bohemians" and "Egyptians" in the armed conflicts of the modern era. Already under François I in the Wars of Religion and until Henry IV, but also during the seditious episode of the Fronde or the wars of Flanders, Roma had joined the armies with the authorisation of the king or other authorities.

For more than a century "Bohemian companies" were able to move around France without difficulty. The Egyptian households found protection under the princes and military chiefs with whom they made contracts and thanks to whom they obtained certificates, safe-conducts and passports guaranteeing their companies' safe passage. So these "Egyptian households" were both military and family subdivisions.

And although the authorities showed signs of great mistrust, like Charles V, who wanted to expel all the Egyptians, as did the Dukes of Lorraine, the

Emperor Maximilian suspecting them of serving the Great Turk, some monarchs, in spite of passing repressive laws, granted protection, privileges, comfort, aid and assistance to the heads of Romani companies.

In 1544, the well-loved captain of Little Egypt Anthony Morel and all his company were given protection and assistance by François I, King of France. In 1553, the Egyptian Count Palque was granted royal protection by declaration of Henry II. And Henri IV thanked Captain Charles for sending 400 Egyptians to the siege of Saint-Jean-d'Angély.

In Spain it is clear that from 1539 the production of laws and edicts against "Egyptians" and other "Bohemians" reflected the monarch's deliberate intention to disperse these militarised companies, who could just as easily place themselves at the service of a potential seigniorial rebellion, even if it meant bringing them together again at a later date for his own use, as and when the situation and strategy required.

Indeed, in spite of the increasing number and severity of the royal decrees, the often-seditious aristocracy and provincial nobility used such unlawful alliances as a pool of loyal and experienced military allies.

In this context of political instability in a world seeking to stabilise its structures, these protections were frowned upon by the ruling monarchs of the day.

In France under the Ancien Régime as in the Iberian Peninsula, Egyptians were loyal to their protectors, nobles and monarchs, who would often guarantee their protection while ensuring their loyalty by sponsoring one of the children of the company leader. So this sponsorship or royal or noble patronage genuinely contributed to the construction of the "Bohemian" and "Egyptian" identity in France and Spain, guaranteeing their lasting presence in those countries. This subtle balance of protection and complicity made it possible for the Bohemian companies to move about without dismantling their family structures.

This first body of laws and edicts thus remained fairly ineffective as they were often cancelled out by special privileges contradicting the general orders. And even though the law prohibited and severely punished the carrying of weapons, archive documents reveal that the companies were, on the contrary, well armed.

The same archives indicate that the Roma in Spain took part in the rebellion of the Alpujarras, a series of uprisings by the large Muslim population of the kingdom of Granada against their Catholic ruler (Philip II of Spain) between 1568 and 1571, in reaction to the *Pragmática* of 1567, which ordered them to abandon their religious beliefs. When the crown managed to quell the uprising more than 80 000 Moors of the kingdom of Granada were scattered all over the peninsula so there would not be enough of them in any one place

to spark off further rebellions. Finally, in 1609 Felipe III ordered the expulsion of all the Moors from Spain.

In 1573, Carlos de Bustamante, Francisco Campo, Gaspar de Ribera and other Roma living in Falces and Larraga in Navarra started proceedings to recover their residential status after having left to join the troops fighting the *Morisco* rebellion. They also mentioned their services to the kingdom of Spain as soldiers in the *Tercios de Flandes* or Army of Flanders.

This legendary combat unit of the Spanish Monarchy, created in 1534 by Carlos I, was without a doubt the utmost expression of the Habsburgs' innovative military ingenuity. A highly autonomous battle force, its manoeuvrability and firepower were based on a unique combination of steel weapons and firearms. Arquebusiers, musketeers and pikemen of all nationalities were the three basic components of the *Tercios*. Many Roma, whether autochthonous or recruited in the combat zones, enrolled in these units. Among them were Antonio de Moya, Baltasar de Montoya, Baltasar de Rocamora, Juan de Montoya, Andrés de Flores and Marcos de Flores, all members of the same Roma family of Alcalá la Real,<sup>26</sup> who were guaranteed by royal decree of 6 January 1602 in Valladolid the right to settle wherever they wished and not to be affected by any of the measures applied by virtue of the laws and *Pragmáticas* against Roma, in recognition of their 24 years of loyal services and bravery in the Company of Captain Alonso de Tauste of the *Tercio* of Don Agustia Mejía. This decision taken under Felipe III in 1602 was upheld in 1620 and again in 1623 under Felipe IV.

Just as they were in France, the Roma in Spain were prohibited from carrying weapons, as "rogues were unfit for honourable armed service". However, there was no lack of Roma in the *Tercios de Flandes* or likewise in the Spanish War of Succession (1702-1713), some of them even being decorated for their bravery, like Sergeant Diego Castellón or Captain Francisco Ximénez.<sup>27</sup> A large number of archive documents refer to Roma enlisting in the Habsburg battalions of Roussillon and Languedoc in order not to have to serve sentences as gallea slaves. Logically, in this same region, others sided with the Bourbons. One such case was Captain Don Francisco Ximénez, in Catalonia, in the service of the King of Barcelona, who on 17 March 1736 granted him and all his descendants the status of fully-fledged vassals, thereby protecting them from any anti-Gypsy measures. The same applied to the Berenguer y Noguera family, the Bustamante brothers in Madridejos, Captain Quiros of Medellín, the Cortes

---

26. de Lovera C. J. (1968), "Los Gitanos y el Santo Reino", Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses, No. 55, Jaén.

27. Alfaro A. G. (1992), "El expediente general de gitanos", doctoral thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

Bustamante family in Illora and the 53 families in the Murcia area who in 1746 were granted the right to reside legally in their village as a reward for their bravery in battle.

Some 17th- and 18th-century French archives describe the place of women in this Romani military history. Although the examples given here are taken from French archives, it is very likely that their fate was similar in the kingdoms of Castile, Navarra, Aragon and elsewhere. The wives, sisters and daughters of soldiers of Romani origin travelled with the regiments in which their brothers, fathers or husbands fought. They stopped in the garrison towns, often serving as camp followers or washerwomen for the troops. One such case was Marie, the daughter of a cavalry soldier in the renowned Dauphin regiment, who explained in a statement to the authorities that “when her father was alive she always followed him to the towns where his garrison was stationed, serving as a washerwoman.”<sup>28</sup> Very often, when they retired from armed service these soldiers became masters of arms, serving and instructing the rural nobility, while their wives became “dance instructors”, as in the case of François Mauron du Château Neuf and his wife Claudine Lespérance, in the service of the Marquis of Bellisière and the Marquis of Laxio. The François Mauron in question had served in a *compagnie franche de la Marine* naval unit in Rochefort.<sup>29</sup>

## Controlling the other and their place in the national territory

The 17th century was no doubt the most terrifying century for the Roma in Spain. Political animosity towards them reached its climax. The different anti-Gypsy laws were a prelude to what, strictly speaking, would be the first genocidal episode in their history. The complaints of the *Cortes* and particularly the “memorialists” were filled with rage. In these times of crisis Roma were accused of every possible evil, their Christianity was challenged, and some even suspected them of cannibalism.

At the very start of the reign of Felipe III, the representatives of *Las Cortes* (the parliamentary institutions of the Christian kingdoms) protested to the monarch about the complaints concerning the trouble caused by the Romani presence in the land. On 12 April 1603, they presented a “memorandum” (*una memoria* in Spanish, which is why they were called *memorialistas*) on their “excesses” and asked the king to show greater firmness towards them. On 7

---

28. Archives, Indre-et-Loire, Maréchaussée, B., 1728; Archives, Loir-et-Cher, Maréchaussée B., 1748-1749; Archives, Seine-et-Marne, Maréchaussée B., 1739; Archives, Toulon, I.O. 98, 100.

29. Archive. Nat., D5 4; Archive, Charente B 139; Archives, Indre et Loire, Maréchaussée B., 1715; Archive, Loire, B. 797; Archive, Seine et Marne, Maréchaussée de Melun B., 1739.



July that same year they announced in another document that the Roma were not even a proper ethnic group. They were in fact just a bunch of brigands, peddlers and other rogues and ne'er-do-wells. They accordingly demanded that they be banished from the realm in order to put a stop, once and for all, to the problems that worried the rural populations. Similar requests were repeated in 1607, 1609 and 1610. The expulsion of the Moors in 1609 and 1610 radically disrupted the country's social, cultural and economic organisation. The Moors of Valencia, Castile, Extremadura and Aragon were banished in succession. This policy seriously damaged the country's economy. It then seemed inevitable that similar steps would be taken against a less numerous and much less productive minority like the Roma community. But that was not to be. After the expulsion of the Moors the population was so diminished that the authorities could not face further demographic haemorrhaging.

The *Cortes* kept up the pressure, however, and in increasingly virulent terms. The *Pragmática* of 1619 obliged the Roma to refrain not only from speaking their own language and using their own names and traditional clothing, but also from buying and selling livestock; it also required them to settle and live in towns with more than 1 000 inhabitants. These were unprecedented measures aimed at eradicating a particularity, in the context of the advent of the nation states in Europe, and laid the foundations for a policy of total extermination of the Roma people in Spain a century later.

There is no denying that the construction of these national identities in the West was achieved to the detriment of many minorities, who were rejected, destroyed or irrevocably transfigured by the emergence of the monolithic national identity. The advent of nationalisms in the 18th century was also in part the result of the establishment of a new geopolitical reality and a shift in cultural legitimacy based on this new concept of normativity, which was already latent towards the end of the 15th century.

The emergence of market capitalism, the invention of printing and the birth of vernacular languages as instruments of administrative centralisation are the three key factors in the construction of majority national identities. In other words, the identification of common ancestors, the choice and promotion of a designated folklore and the development of mass culture then facilitated the propagation of a national idea in the minds of modern societies on the one hand and justified colonial ambitions on the other.

Exhaustive comparison of these three factors (proto-capitalism, printing and vernacular language), in total contrast with pre-modern and modern Romani economic practices in terms of the transmission of knowledge (oral tradition) and the variety of languages spoken by the different Roma groups in

Europe, would prove decisive in understanding the construction of a Roma ab-normativity by the majority societies. Indeed, these three factors – 1) mode of subsistence, 2) polyglossia and 3) agraphia – formed the foundation on which modern and contemporary racist attitudes to the different Roma and Gypsy groups in Europe were built.

Romani realities played an undeniable part in the construction of nationalisms in Europe. The “ab-normativity within” that they already embodied, by a play of mirrors, formed the normative frameworks on which these nationalisms were built.

Court prosecutors were not the only ones to rail to the king against the Roma. Throughout the 17th century they were also the target of repeated abuse on the part of men of the Church and lawyers. Interestingly for students of Romology, that is to say, the scientific study of the different Roma groups, the 17th century also saw the appearance of a quasi-scientific literature on the “Gypsy problem”. A series of writers doggedly sought the causes of the crisis of the 17th century and possible solutions to remedy it. Of great concern to these “*arbitristas*” were the depopulation and ruin of the country, which each of them attributed to a different cause. They proposed a variety of solutions, including economic, political and social measures. In their minds, however, and in all their writings, the recurrent problem was the dead weight for the national economy of the existence of large numbers of idle people in the cities. Since the 16th century a motley population of misfits, poor people, peddlers, former soldiers and foreigners had travelled the land. It was the same all over Europe. The mobility of this population in search of work or shelter became a real problem.

This situation, in addition to the rise in “*bandolerismo*”, led to marginality and crime being falsely associated with Romani ethnicity. This trend took many forms, going as far as total confusion in the works of Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (*A Walk in Andalusia*, 1777, Fact sheet 10; *The Fight at the Cock Inn*, 1777, Fact sheet 11). Likewise in the treatment of *La Gitanilla* (The Little Gypsy Girl) by Miguel de Cervantes, which begins:

It would almost seem that the Gitanos and Gitanas, or male and female Gypsies, had been sent into the world for the sole purpose of thieving. Born of parents who are thieves, reared among thieves, and educated as thieves, they finally go forth perfected in their vocation, accomplished at all points, and ready for every species of roguery. In them the love of thieving, and the ability to exercise it, are qualities inseparable from their existence, and never lost until the hour of their death.<sup>30</sup>

---

30. Cervantes M. de (1881), *The little Gypsy girl*, (tr.) Kelly W. K.

Sancho de Moncada, Salazar de Mendoza and Juan de Quiñones were the three anti-Gypsy leaders of the *arbitrista* movement. Sancho de Moncada, a professor at the University of Toledo, explained his analysis of the country's economic situation in his "Nine discourses on the political restoration of Spain", published in 1619. In his "Discourse against the Roma", the first of its kind, he announced and predicted the fundamental points that would support anti-Gypsy, Tsiganophobic and Romaphobic pseudo-scientific reasoning to this day: dubious ethnic origin, damage caused by their presence on Spanish soil, review of the legislation in place, policies to be adopted against them. Moncada's Discourse thus laid down the essential features of this type of legal and moral literature and other *arbitristas* like Salazar de Mendoza and Juan de Quiñones soon followed in his footsteps. While Moncada laid particular emphasis on the question of ethnic origin, painting Roma as a bunch of stateless thieves and ne'er-do-wells, his emulator Salazar de Mendoza rolled out the same arguments placing more emphasis on the religious aspect. In his eyes, Roma were a much more dangerous minority group than the Moors because they were so difficult to classify: they were "Mohammedans among Mohammedans, Turks among Turks, heretics among heretics".

In 1631, under the reign of Felipe IV, Juan de Quiñones submitted a "Discourse against the Gypsies" to his monarch that was far harsher than anything Moncada or Mendoza had produced. Unlike his contemporaries, and in a logic of complete denial of ethnic attachment, he refused to attribute any specific ethnic character to this minority that distinguished it from the rest of Spain's population. After a lengthy description of the scandalous and unacceptable mores of the Gypsies, Quiñones affirmed that they dyed their faces every month with a special herb so that people would not know where they hailed from. Worse still, considering the confessional context of the 17th century as defined by the Council of Trent, he accused the Roma of being "heretics and Gentiles, idolaters and atheists, without any religion, even if for appearances' sake they adopt the religion of the lands they travel through". Worse than the Moors, who did have a religion and farmed their land, as far as he was concerned they were the dregs of society, sub-human.

The discourses of Moncada, Salazar Mendoza and Juan de Quiñones thus shared the same rhetoric. They all called for the expulsion of a minority that had been in Spain for over two centuries. Their writings accordingly presented a stereotyped and tenacious image but – and this is crucial to understanding the first great genocide of the Enlightenment in Spain – they passed laws based on the notion of exteriority and took away the only physical place of refuge left to the Gypsies at the time: the Church as a place of asylum.

In the iconography of the 17th century two phenomena are visible in the way in which the Romani figure was depicted. The first is “de-ethnicisation”, the pictorial response to the legal measures set in place against the Roma by the emerging nation states. Artists created fictional Bohemians, characters dressed in Romani costume. Their creation in Europe, based on the archetype of the *zingaresca*, the *Gitanilla*, which already existed in the *commedia dell’arte* and in picaresque novels, was a fictional otherness, recuperated by courteous, polite society. From the 18th century onwards, in fact, the vast majority of these figures would be nothing more than costumes. More than those in the Prado, the paintings in the Louvre provide us with examples of this.

In the 17th century and above all in the 18th century, these figures dressed up to look like Bohemians were placed in a special kind of landscape, a marginal geographical setting for Bohemians, Egiptanos or Tsiganes that suggests a vision of nature that was all at once moral, ideological and poetic.

In this entirely disembodied iconographic creation that is the gallant European Gypsy, the Romani model is very typically placed in a marginal geography. If the nature of the century of Enlightenment is part of the exteriority in which certain groups considered marginal are entrenched, the abstract idea of nature is a critical tool and the foundation of the new order that this exteriority is looking for. It is an object of study. However, it is a nature that is subject to norms and categories, subdued, a nature that is tameable and tamed. In *Mule Train and Gypsies in a Forest* (1612, Fact sheet 7) by Jan Brueghel the Elder, the Flemish master’s special treatment of landscape is already apparent. The views are panoramic, mountainous, the forests are dense, the realism of the whole is the result of his meticulous touch, of great technical quality. The composition of this painting clearly illustrates the arguments advanced earlier. The diagonal line of the mountainside divides the picture into two parts. On the left, a wide landscape bathed in misty light opens up in the distance, with tiny dwellings here and there. On the right, in darker hues, a path opens up in the middle of a forest. A group of Roma is driving a small caravan of horses and mules. A seated woman wearing a flat, round hat and draped in a Marian blue robe holds a baby in her arms and appears to be talking to an older woman. A third woman, in an ochre robe, is talking to the man leading the mules, who is wearing a sword or dagger on his left hip. The rest of the company follows with the horses and mules. If you look carefully, you will see that all the men are armed. This whole scene is at odds with the laws in force in Europe at the time, which barred Roma from carrying weapons, travelling and trading in livestock.

The concept of a supposedly benevolent nature is then used by Enlightenment thinkers as the foundation for the norms of moral and social life, to the detriment of a divine power subject to increasingly open criticism. The comparison

of the Moors to the peoples of Europe and those Europe was discovering and the myth of the good savage, directly opposed “natural Moors” and the “depraved Moors” of a European society considered to be in crisis. Enlightenment thinkers used the concept of nature as a veritable ideological weapon. However, this focus on nature – the nature of things as well as that of man – gradually formed an idealised and normative picture of nature. Romani exteriority and its relationship with nature could not be represented there without a filter. Here again, the relationship is disembodied.

In what is a major epistemological contradiction, it was in this very relationship that European nationalisms but also the emerging Romanticism and Orientalism took root. By taking the Romani figure, exteriority tamed, and placing it in an idealised natural setting, European painters developed a national imagery playing on the idea of the good savage and Mother Nature.

If nature is presented in the *Landscape with Gypsies* by David Teniers II (1641-1645, Fact sheet 8) as it is by Brueghel the Elder in *Mule Train and Gypsies in a Forest*, if both contrast nature (on the left) and culture (on the right), the figure of the Roma portrayed in the former has lost its substance and its panache. The characters, whose ragged clothes are bathed in light, seem physically less ethnicised and are placed on the paths like figurines. At the foot of a rocky landscape bordering on a road, three Gypsies and a child – boy or girl we do not know – wait as an old woman tells a peasant’s fortune. At the entrance to the village, where the house fronts seem to form an impenetrable barrier between two adjoining worlds, three other figures observe the scene.

The first half of the 17th century was marked by scorn and repressive measures against the Roma. They were no longer seen only as highwaymen. Under the reign of Felipe IV (1621-1665) the *Pragmática* of 8 March 1633 authorised the authorities to arrest them for any reason whatsoever, by any possible means, even allowing them to kill them with impunity. In 1639, and again in 1643, the legal situation of these populations deteriorated considerably and they could be sentenced to the galleys for vagrancy – a useful solution for the monarchy in need of oarsmen for their transatlantic expeditions. Anti-Gypsy language and measures intensified throughout the 17th century but some of the ideas that surfaced are worth highlighting. Even the sacrosanct notion of ecclesiastical asylum was called into question. The authorities did everything in their power to undermine it. The Church was accused of offering the sanctity of its buildings to every brigand in Spain, including Roma. This was the beginning of the conflicts between Royal Justice and Ecclesiastical Justice that would rage on without interruption throughout the second half of the 17th century. In 1748, with the pope’s benediction, laws were passed denying Roma the right

to asylum. All this culminated in 1749 with the “Great Round-up”, during which all the Roma in Spain were arrested.

In a long submission entitled “*Discursos jurídico-políticos en razón de que a los Gitanos Vandoleros de estos tiempos no les vale la iglesia para su inmunidad*”,<sup>31</sup> Pedro de Villalobos explained why Roma should be denied religious asylum. He based his argument on a well-known case: that of the Roma leader Santiago Maldonado, head of a company of some 40 men, who was executed on 1 December 1643 in Salamanca, after being captured in the church in Topas. He was accused of having attacked a group of soldiers in Ciudad Real and stolen horses, cereals and lard from the inhabitants of certain villages, as well as having killed a woman in Villa del Cubo.

But Felipe IV would not give in to the repeated demands for their expulsion, in spite of the diatribes from the memorialists and the profusion of politico-didactic writings on the subject. It would have meant a new population haemorrhage for Spain. Instead, the king chose assimilation. His *Pragmática* upheld the repressive measures against Gypsies who continued their travelling ways, but showed much more leniency towards those subjects considered to be assimilable. Romani dress, language and customs were banned, as was livestock trading at fairs. In addition they were barred from engaging in any occupations considered idiosyncratic, under pain of lashings and galley work for men and exile for women. The *Pragmática* also decided that the name “Gypsy” should be “done away with once and for all”: the absolute negation of otherness. Henceforth the authorities would use artificial paraphrases to name the unmentionable, such as “those who used to go by the name of Gypsy” or “New Castilians”. The ultimate aim was to make farmers out of an ethnic group whose relationship with the land was one of radical ab-normality.

But the society of the second half of the 17th century was also that of the positive presence of Roma in the popular arts. The role Roma people played in popular artistic events was fundamental, especially dancing in the streets, in Corpus Christi festivities but also in theatrical sketches and interludes and other appearances, during which they often dared to parody the authorities and the justice system.

## The other and the marginal territory

In spite of the new attitude defended by Felipe IV the growing concern generated in the country by the proliferation of “*cuadrillas*” and “*bandoleros*”, mainly because of the crisis of 1640, led his successor, Carlos II, to reassert a firm and

---

31. Pedro de Villalobos, arc. Diego de Cassios, 1644, caja 4248, doc 4.

intransigent posture. In order to understand what underlies the modern and contemporary imagery of the Romani figure, in terms of phantasmagoria, we must decipher the crisis of 1640 and how representations of the highwayman were forged.

This crisis coincides chronologically with a series of revolts that shook all of western Europe and, in the concrete case of Spain, produced a wave of major rebellions in the states bordering the Spanish Empire.<sup>32</sup>

It was a time of great tension that may be considered a turning point, a transition from feudalism to capitalism. Some countries came through this period with flying colours (especially England) and went on to embark on a journey that would start with the bourgeois revolution and follow on in the 18th century with the Industrial Revolution. Other countries had a rougher ride. Spain, for example, and more specifically the Catholic Habsburg monarchs, lost their hitherto central position as the pillars of western civilisation. The shift of trade routes from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic was nothing new.

Following that crisis and the resulting transition, west European civilisation ceded its supremacy to north-western Europe. Seville and Lisbon declined while London and Amsterdam became the seats of power. Various events helped to lay the groundwork for the crisis of 1640. The Sack of Antwerp in 1576, the consequence of a mutiny by Spanish soldiers during which thousands of inhabitants perished, was what triggered the revolt of the Spanish Netherlands provinces. The succession of victories over the Turks at Lepanto and the complete failure of the attack on England by Felipe II's Invincible Armada are also major factors in understanding this change of geopolitical paradigm. The "Great Turk", who had hitherto been the greatest threat to Christian Europe, was relegated to a peripheral position.

There was little hope for Spain of being able to rise to the challenges facing its authoritarian monarchy inside and outside the country without changing its political, economic and social structures. The war effort required for the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) was an impossible drain on Spain's depleted and unreliable finances. These relied on resources from the Americas, taxes levied by the Crown of Aragon, the sale of estates (*señoríos*) – which incidentally led to a return to feudalism and effectively diminished the royal power, monetary policy and lastly on public debt, the increase in which was fast becoming a problem. Spain was waging simultaneous military campaigns all over Europe in an attempt to keep together a scattered, disconnected zone of influence

---

32. Schaub J. F. (1994), *La crise hispanique de 1640. Le modèle des révolutions périphériques en question*; translated into English as *The Hispanic crisis of 1640. The peripheral revolutionary model in question*, Annales histoires, Sciences Sociales, vol. 49.

of disparate strategic value, not to mention its overseas Empire, while at the same time trying to implement an ambitious policy to defend the Catholic religion and the Austrian branch of the Habsburgs. It was attempting all this while largely isolated from the rest of the world, in spite of attempts to make an alliance with England, and with little sympathy from the pope, who plainly disliked the Catholic Monarchs. The Armed Union proposed by the Count-Duke of Olivares Gaspar de Guzmán with the agreement of Felipe IV was meant to create an army of reservists recruited and maintained by the different provinces, kingdoms and viceroyalties. The aim was to increase enlistment in the kingdoms of Spain and share the human and financial cost of the war effort with Castile. Opposition from Catalonia made the plan impossible to put into effect: the people of the principality of Catalonia came out against mobilisation and against the presence of *tercios* from the royal army and the obligation to house them in the villages.

The Reapers' War (1640-1659) saw the people of Catalonia rise up against the Castilian army. It was triggered by the *Corpus de Sangre*, a deadly riot in Barcelona on the feast day of Corpus Christi, 7 June 1640. The Generalitat swore allegiance to the King of France. The monarchy's attempts to put down the Catalan revolt led to the intensification of conspiracy movements in Portugal, which had been seeking its independence since 1580. The ill-advised tax increase in Portugal and the request for help from Portuguese noblemen to put down the Catalan revolt was only a catalyst and on 1 December 1640 the Duke of Braganza, supported by England, was proclaimed King John IV of Portugal. The large number of wars in Europe continued to destabilise the crown. There was a rapid succession of defeats and retreats:

- ▶ 1639: defeat in the battle of Dunas;
- ▶ 1641: repression of the Andalusian independence revolt;
- ▶ 1643: defeat in the battle of Rocroi;
- ▶ 1647: "anti-Spanish" revolt of Naples, which could have had much more dramatic consequences;
- ▶ 1648: Treaty of Westphalia marking the end of the war in central Europe. The Habsburgs in Vienna survived. The Catholic monarchy was forced to resign itself;
- ▶ 1648: Holland's independence acknowledged after 80 years of war;
- ▶ 1659: Peace in the Pyrenees, meaning the partition of Catalan territory and a return to the pre-1640 situation.



It was in this context that *bandolerismo*<sup>33</sup> reappeared. Banditry is not a phenomenon one can ascribe to a specific period in history or a particular geographical area. It is a social phenomenon linked to human relations and notions of class, peripheries, marginal geography and norms, strongly influenced by oppressive policies and social disturbances. However, it was from the end of the 17th through the 18th and into the 19th centuries that *bandolerismo* really flourished. In those days the *bandolero* bands were made up mainly of deserters from the armies. The phenomenon was widespread enough for eight commissioners to be appointed on 29 October 1640 to control the situation in the different *sierras* (mountain areas) of Spain. The heart of the problem was such that security posts were set up in the worst-affected territories. Roma and non-Roma thus found themselves thrown into the same criminal basket. The imagination fired by the world of the *bandoleros* fused with that associated with the outlawed Romani misfits, even though there is no evidence that the *cuadrillas de bandoleros* were mainly Roma.

The *Pragmática* issued by Carlos II on 15 June 1643,<sup>34</sup> on “bandits and vagabonds who rob and plunder the highways and villages”, was very similar to the measures taken against Roma. The concern of the crown was such that it ordered the merciless persecution of “public bandits”. Just as they were with Roma, local authorities were authorised to act with full impunity and to venture outside their jurisdiction in pursuit of the gangs or *cuadrillas*. Carlos II and Felipe IV were both deeply concerned by the situation along the kingdom’s highways. As early as 1639 the Court chronicler José Pellicer wrote: “on the outskirts of Madrid Gypsies, mounted *bandoleros*, have been found; this is a new and regrettable state of affairs which must be remedied, God willing”.<sup>35</sup>

On 12 June 1695 another brick was placed in Spain’s genocidal project. In his *Pragmática* against the Gypsies, Carlos II proposed “reforming Gypsy customs” and “putting a stop to the problem”. Penalties were brought in against anyone found protecting Roma.

No fewer than 29 articles provided for measures necessary to scatter the Roma throughout the land as farmers. They were banned from fairs and cattle markets as well as horse-trading, carrying weapons and speaking Romani languages. They were geographically isolated and grouped together in special neighbourhoods. But it was the obligation to carry out a census of all

---

33. *Bandolero*: bandit or highwayman. A *bandolero* was an outlaw living mainly by robbery and smuggling.

34. *Pragmática* of Carlos II, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Consejos, leg. 51442, no. 6; AHN, Reales cédulas, nº 74.

35. Molinie A. (2014), “José Pellicer de Salas y Tovar et la mort des Grands (1639-1644)”, e-Spania (online <https://journals.openedition.org/e-spania/23286>), 17 February, 2014.

the Romani families that formed the cornerstone of the effort to control the populations, a census that would be followed by the genocide of the Great Gypsy Round-up a few decades later.

But history is not without its contradictions. The passage from the reign of Carlos II to that of his nephew Felipe saw the outbreak of the War of Succession, which destabilised Europe and its colonies. Contrary to what was stipulated in the *Pragmáticas* against them, Roma were recruited into the Spanish army, just as they were in France.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, kings from the House of Habsburg, “the Austrians”, governed Spain. Carlos II, “the bewitched”, died childless. Before he died he named his nephew Felipe, Duke of Anjou and grandson of the “Sun King” Louis XIV, as his successor. A Bourbon king ruling over Spain upset the geopolitical balance in Europe. Other powers, such as England, Portugal and Austria, frowned at France gaining such influence over Spain. In reaction they urged Archduke Charles of Habsburg to take over. War broke out on different fronts in 1702. France used all its resources to keep Felipe V on the Spanish throne. After a decade of conflict, the British crown was ready to end a war that was ruining the country economically and was very unpopular among its people. In 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht was signed, bringing the War of Succession to an end. England profited from the deal, keeping Minorca and Gibraltar, which it had occupied during the war and which Spain relinquished to it, Nova Scotia, the Hudson Bay and Newfoundland, which France handed over, Saint Kitts in the Caribbean, the right of “*Asiento de negros*”, a 30-year monopoly on the trade in black slaves between Africa and the Americas, and the “*Navío de Permiso*”, an authorisation for England to send one ship per year to the Spanish colonies, carrying 500 tons of merchandise to trade there. Portugal won back its colony of Sacramento in Uruguay, which Spain had occupied during the war. Austria was given the Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Naples and Sardinia. Felipe V was acknowledged as the King of Spain by all the signatory nations, provided that he gave up any claim to the French throne. Spain kept its American and Asian possessions.

Although they were supposedly banned from military activities because “rogues are unfit for honourable armed service”,<sup>36</sup> many Roma fought in the armies in the War of Succession, as well as in the *Tercios* in Flanders or the people’s militias of the Alpujarras rebellions. Some of them even won decorations, such as Sergeant Diego Castellón or Captain Francisco Ximénez. In Languedoc, Roussillon and Catalonia many Roma joined the armies. In Catalonia, Captain

---

36. Alfaro A. G. (1993), *Espanoles gitanos: una historia de amor y desamores. Historia de la Educación*, Ediciones University of Salamanca, Revista I Tchatchipen.

Francisco Ximénez, “at the service of the King of Barcelona”, received a royal *cedula* on 17 March 1736 declaring that he and his family were no longer legally members of the Roma people, and was thus able to claim full vassal status like any other Spaniard. Likewise, on 11 September 1717 the Losada brothers were given the Madrideo residence for having gone to Aranjuez with other neighbours to prevent the enemy from crossing the Tajo. Another Roma from the Medellín area, known as “Quiros, captain of a Gypsy company”, was made a Castilian citizen. In Murcia, 53 families were authorised to stay because they had been there for a long time but also because of their merit in combat. In Illora in Granada province, the Cortes Bustamante were mobilised with other relatives and were authorised by the authorities in 1708 to carry weapons and transport horses.

Once again, however, history was to repeat itself. Things moved fast: the genocidal policy that had long been in the making was polished, sharpened and finally set in motion.

After the war ended, Felipe V adopted the same doctrinal provisions as his predecessors. Roma were once again banned from military activities and carrying weapons, except for the many French Roma who had enlisted in the Walloon troops’ foreign corps at the service of Spain.

In 1717, 41 places of residence were assigned to Roma families, who were under obligation to go and live there. Soon thereafter the list was extended to 75 localities, when the local people protested, voicing their concern at seeing the number of Roma increase considerably in their towns. Those families who had lived in the same place for over 10 years were authorised to stay. It was the political will to assimilate and control them that forced the Romani families to settle and reside in specific places. In order to prevent too high a concentration, and break up extended family networks, a quota of one Roma family per hundred inhabitants was introduced. The law thus succeeded in categorising the sedentarised Roma and outlawing their itinerant lifestyle, which was by now limited to a regional radius.

While certain memorialists a century earlier had argued in favour of ending ecclesiastical immunity, 1737 was the year in which this actually came to pass. Diplomatic negotiations were held and concluded with the Holy See to have Roma placed in the categories of outlaws deprived of the right to asylum in isolated churches and hermitages. Ten years later, in 1747, the pope delegated to the bishops the decision to have Roma refugees taken to prison churches as and when necessary.

Early in the reign of Ferdinand VI (1746-1749), the authorities had managed to get most of Spain’s Roma population settled in the towns. For a while the

“Gypsy problem” was considered to have been solved by their sedentarisation. Turned into sedentary farmers, spread out in different allotted towns with no possibility of travelling or regrouping, the Roma would naturally be absorbed into the working masses. By the total ban on everything that distinguished them from others, epistemicide was perpetrated. But for the Council of Castile their assimilation was too slow, their Romani vitality too strong, perhaps. It was decided to take the genocidal policy a step further. Now that they had been deprived of their traditional right of ecclesiastical asylum and could no longer seek refuge in churches, everything was in place for the Great Round-up of 30 July 1749 to go ahead.<sup>37</sup>

## The Great Round-up: a genocidal approach to radical exteriority

Devised by the Bishop of Oviedo, Gaspar Vázquez Tablada, the Great Round-up, the “black Wednesday” of 30 July 1749, led to the incarceration of 10-12 000 people simply for being Roma. The co-ordination of the public authorities, the co-operation of the Church, the over-zealous contribution of part of the population in denouncing their neighbours all made possible one of the most painful episodes in Roma history.

While there is nothing to link the Great Gypsy Round-up of 1749 to the brown and grey gouache drawing by Pietro Giacomo Palmieri entitled *Gypsy Family* (18th century, Fact sheet 9), the fact that it was painted at approximately the same time, and the energy emanating from the characters, puts one in mind of the pressure entire families of Roma lived under at the mercy of a mad structural racist policy.

In ochre tones highlighted in grey in the foreground, a Romani woman riding side-saddle on a mule holds a child snuggled against her, seemingly asleep. But this is no peaceful slumber. The child’s forehead seems tense, his little legs are not relaxed, even though he is snugly wrapped in his mother’s shawl. The mother, big and beautiful, her hair loose, looks steadfastly ahead, as if fate can hold no sway over a loving mother. Lower down, in the background, a man is loading a donkey while children tend a few sheep. The landscape is desert-like, reminiscent in its aridity of the plains of Castile. The composition of the drawing and the central figure of the mother and child are directly inspired by *Jacob’s Journey into Egypt* by Stefano della Bella.<sup>38</sup> In spite of the direct influence of master engravers like Stefano della Bella and Jacques Callot, but also Nicholaes

37. See all the works of Antonio Gómez Alfaro on the Great Gypsy Round-up of July 1749.

38. Stefano della Bella, *Jacob’s Journey into Egypt*, Petit Palais, Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris, 17th century.

Berchem or Benedetto Castiglione, the world portrayed is very contemporary. The treatment of light and movement make the author an artist of his day, with a pre-Romantic touch. Palmieri lived in France, England, Switzerland and also Spain, where it is possible he took inspiration from a picture similar to this model of Stefano della Bella's to produce this very powerful icon.

On 23 August 1746, the Bishop of Oviedo, Gaspar Vázquez Tablada was appointed to the highest office in the Council of Castile. His first concern was "to pay the greatest attention to rigorous compliance with the royal *Pragmáticas* against the Gypsies". Vázquez Tablada asked the king to adopt "extraordinary remedies to solve the Gypsy problem once and for all". He sought the co-operation of the army to carry out a sweeping, simultaneous round-up of all the Roma everywhere in the land. He requested that trustworthy officials be instructed to transmit the orders "in the utmost secrecy". Already under the reign of Felipe II, as in 1673, similar recommendations had been drafted, but always with a selective approach, targeting beggars, vagrants and wandering Roma.

Two main factors helped set in place the logistics needed to round up the whole Roma population. The census, a means of taking stock of the population, introduced in 1717 and supervised directly by the Council, told the authorities exactly where 800 Romani families lived in the 75 towns and villages they had been assigned to reside in since 1746. This quota was sufficient to guarantee proper supervision of their activities and their way of life. It was also an implacable means of deconstructing a fundamental element of Roma culture, the family. The second measure that paved the way for the Great Round-up was the refusal to grant Roma ecclesiastical asylum. The papal nuncio Don Enrique Enríquez thus closed a long process of diplomatic negotiation with the Holy See that had been initiated a century earlier.

The Jesuit priest Francisco Rábago y Noriega, principal adviser and confessor to Felipe VI, was enthusiastic about setting such a process in motion. He reassured his sovereign: "The means proposed seem adequate to me to extirpate this ill-gotten race, odious to God and pernicious to men ... Your Highness would be offering a royal present if he succeeded in eradicating this race."<sup>39</sup> All the logistical co-ordination for the operation planned for 30 July 1749 was left to the Marquis de la Ensenada. The target was the whole Roma population. A list of destinations was drawn up where men, women and children could be taken and imprisoned separately. Any male 12 years of age or older was

---

39. *Correspondencia reservada e inédita* of Rábago (1747-1757), Intro. Ciriaco Pérez Bustamante. Editorial M. Aguilar, Madrid, 1956.

assigned to forced labour in the arsenals for life; women and children were sent to work in spinning mills.

On 30 July 1749 military patrols blocked access to Romani neighbourhoods and other streets all over Spain. The effect of surprise was absolute. Soldiers herded long caravans of Roma at gunpoint for hundreds of kilometres to their places of incarceration: the arsenals of Cartagena, Cadiz, Ferrol and the castle in Alicante for the men; depots in Valencia, Saragossa and Seville for the women. The absolute secrecy needed to implement this genocidal plan not only guaranteed its success but also caused its downfall. The towns singled out to hold the Roma had not been consulted or even informed; nor had the authorities in charge of the arsenals. The problems inherent in holding and supervising this considerable mass of prisoners immediately triggered a general uproar of protest against the government. In addition, many Roma appealed, mobilising their friends and protectors in their defence, for the plan had foolishly focused on those members of the Roma population who were best integrated into Spanish society. The arsenal in Cartagena solved the accommodation problem by housing prisoners in old galleys. The arsenal in La Carraca got rid of its prisoners by sending them to the arsenal in Ferrol, where they arrived after a long sea voyage during which an epidemic broke out and killed many of the prisoners.

The women were mainly held in the west of Spain, under the authority of the Captain General of Valencia. At first they were grouped in the castle in Denia, then they were shared between Denia and Gandía, before finally being confined to a suburb of Valencia. The authorities in Malaga herded their female prisoners, mainly from Extremadura and Andalusia, into Arrebolado Street first of all, before transferring them by sea to Tortosa. From there they were taken by boat up the River Ebro to Saragossa and their final destination, the Royal House of Mercy.

Economically, the operation would never be profitable. The raw material never reached the spinning mills where the women were detained. With nothing for them to do, there were fights and escape attempts. As for the men, they were assigned to the most arduous tasks, in water up to their waists, chained hand and foot. Scarcely 100 had survived the ordeal when, 16 years later, it was decided to set them free, not for humanitarian reasons but because they were sick and required expensive medical care, which made the whole operation a financial disaster. The Romani prisoners from Puerto de Santa María who had been held in the Almadén mines and in prisons in Africa since 1745 were also granted this “pardon”.

The Council prosecutors debated the different measures to be put in place for the freed Roma: they were to be scattered all over the country, assigned to prisons as free inhabitants with their families or deported to the Americas, following the example of Portugal and England. The lack of consensus was mitigated by the *Pragmática* of 19 September 1783 that, under the reign of Carlos III, and in keeping with the aims of social dissolution found in previous legislation, reintroduced the principles of 1499, restoring the Roma's freedom to stay and work, at least for the time being. In spite of the promise to return the property seized from the Roma to finance the terrible operation, together with the sums obtained by auctioning off much of that property, it is not hard to imagine the difficulties these people faced when they found themselves destitute, after 16 years of torture and isolation, and having to deal with the trials and tribulations generated by the unavoidable uncertainties that invariably accompany this type of situation.

Considering the laws habitually promulgated against them in Spain, the *Pragmática* of 1783 presented them with a new contradiction with regard to the law: legally, they were equal, but in actual fact they were not. While the *Pragmática* entitled "Rules to restrict and punish the vagrancy and other excesses of those we call Gypsies" restored their freedom to reside in the country and engage in any type of work, it once again did away with the name "Gypsy" and called for a new population census. Between the first *Pragmática*, of 4 March 1499, and the last one, of 19 September 1783, over 100 laws and 250 measures were promulgated and implemented against the Roma. While the institutional persecution ceased, the specificities and idiosyncrasies of the Roma continued to be prohibited and one of the fundamental features of a potential episteme, namely language, was irremediably smashed. The transformation of Romani into Calo did not mean loss of identity, because the cosmogony, the social organisation, the ontological relationship with the other and their own environment remained, but there is no denying that the measures taken by the authorities over a period of 300 years against the internal alterity of the Roma and their language represented a veritable crime against the language. From that moment on the finest minds of the Enlightenment stretched their imaginations to the full in order to facilitate the "dissolution by integration" of the Roma and turn what nevertheless remained of the embodiment of ab-normativity into profitable workers.

Needless to say, all these illustrious thinkers did not forsake the more traditional measures. Throughout the following century those who survived the genocide remained the subjects/objects of assiduous police controls and every form of supervision, particularly through texts regulating trading in animals. One of the main tasks of the *Guardia Civil*, a body created in 1844,

was specifically to keep a close eye on Roma (Royal Order of 29 July 1852), an obligation reiterated word for word in the regulatory reform of the body in 1943 and not deleted until 1978.

### **Gitano, bandolero, majo or castizo. The fusion of figures, the anchoring of the motif and the beginnings of cultural appropriation.**

While at the end of the 18th century the last descendants of the Jews and Moors ceased to be perceptible and faded once and for all into the urban and rural middle classes, nothing of the sort happened to the Roma. The national cultural, literary and musical imagination shaped a series of identifying archetypes that would determine the popular representation of Spanish society. These were mainly the *majo*,<sup>40</sup> also known as *castizo*, the Gitano, the *torero* or *toreador* and the *payo cateto*.

*Majismo* is a social phenomenon that emerged around the mid-18th century, in Madrid in particular. It was the man in the street's response to the hegemony of French fashion, the scope of which would bring about a veritable reversal of social mimicry, with the wealthier social classes also adopting the style. In their dress and in changing their manner of speech they showed their total rejection of the influence of international fashion (French at the time) and a renewed interest in popular things. Their clothes in particular were the most eloquent expression of their refusal to accept the imposition of these fashions in Spain. The *majismo* of Castile was echoed by the *gitanismo* of Andalusia.

Theatrical works such as *La gitana del capricho*, *Los gitanos de Rosales* or *La gran boda de los gitanos* by Antonio Guerrero, *tonadillas* (short musical pieces) like the *Gran químico del Amor* by Esteve, *La libertad de los gitanos* by Laserna or *Las gitanillas* by Ramón de la Cruz, painted Roma in a favourable light, sometimes even displaying a certain admiration, highlighting their honesty, their loyalty in love, their brio and their artistic talents. The Gitano thus became a familiar figure, on a par with the *majo* and the *payo cateto*. *Payo*, a word synonymous nowadays with *gadjo* (which means non-Roma), is just the contraction of the Spanish word for peasant. In the context of Spanish *majismo/casticismo*, therefore, it conjures up a somewhat rustic figure, a newcomer to the capital, the antithesis of the brave, popular and streetwise *majo*.

It was thus under the reign of Carlos III that this trend appeared, later to become a fully-fledged movement in the 19th century that would be labelled "*costumbrismo*". Well-to-do young Andalusians adopted the postures, clothes,

---

40. The *majo* is an urban figure of modest social condition dressed in very noticeable costume.



speech, manners and customs of the Roma. This fondness towards them was also the result of a romantic interest in things marginal or, more precisely, anything that noble or bourgeois young people and Andalusians in general considered to lie outside the accepted norms and standards. Literature, the arts and music all took up the trend. Especially in the world of theatre, of course, Spanish literature had already featured the Romani figure. By their unusual and somewhat disconcerting habits and traditions, their beliefs and their mysterious language, Roma added an exotic note or even served to provide comic relief.<sup>41</sup> Cervantes, for example, had already introduced Romani musicians and dancers in *The election of the mayors of Daganzo*, and the Gypsy Count appears in the first pages of *Pedro de Urdemalas*.<sup>42</sup>

In the late 18th and 19th centuries the Roma would become a most prestigious literary motif. Instead of playing a peripheral role in the plot, they could be made the central theme. One such case is *Uncle Caniyitas or the New World of Cadiz* by José Sanz Pérez, a Spanish comic opera in two acts in which an Englishman, Mr Frich, wishing to learn the Spanish spoken by Roma, requests the assistance of a beautiful young Andalusian Romani girl.

The subject was so successful in the popular literary scene that a new type of Andalusian genre was born: the Andalusian Gitano genre. Basque historian and essayist Julio Caro Baroja has the appearance of the Gitano figure in Spanish theatre coincide with the rise of the tourist industry, to cater, through the theatrical experience, to the picturesque experiences foreigners were thought to be seeking in Spain.<sup>43</sup> A catalyst for cultural appropriation, at the origin of Romanticism and subsequently Orientalism, economic interests appeared in the late 18th and early 19th centuries that did very little to benefit the communities concerned. This is the cultural panorama in which Francisco de Goya y Lucientes produced his works. The Prado houses over 500 works by the artist. Superimposing the Andalusian theme with the treatment of the figure of the Gitano, *majo*, and/or *bandolero* requires in-depth research in order to identify those works where the Romani reference is best embodied. Two of the artist's works have been selected, *An Avenue in Andalusia or The Maja and the Cloaked Men* (1777, Fact sheet 10) and *The Fight at the Cock Inn* (1777, Fact sheet 11). Both paintings are from the second series of cartoons of rural themes Goya produced between 1775 and 1792 for the Royal Tapestry Works, to decorate the dining room of the Prince of Asturias, the future King Charles IV, in the El Pardo Royal Palace. *An Avenue in Andalusia or The Maja and the Cloaked Men* depicts a young lady meeting with her suitor, described by Goya as “un

---

41. Olle F. G., “Estudios preliminares” a *Los engañados*, Medora de Lope de Rueda, Calpe, Madrid.

42. García M. H. (1966), *Ideas de los españoles del siglo XVII*, Gredos, Madrid.

43. Baroja J. C. (1990), *Ensayo sobre la literatura de cordel*, Ed. AKAL, Madrid.

*jitano y una jitana*", a Romani man and woman, in a thick pine forest where the perspective is cut off by an adobe wall. Men with masked faces and a vaguely threatening air about them seem to be accompanying and watching the couple while, in the background, on the right, a woman in a white veil and holding a fan seems to be observing both the characters in the scene and the viewer. There are two things to notice here in addition to the veracity of the ethnic origin of the subjects. One is the opulence with which the clothing of the protagonists is treated, a perfect illustration of the importance attached in those days to the *majismo/gitanismo* aesthetic. Very high-waisted shirt dresses or Greek-style dresses for women, worn with no corset and tied under the arms by crossed ribbons ("*croisée à la victime*" in French) were fashionable at the time. As in this picture, Romani women often wore an unreinforced top pulled tight at the waist and with lapels, called a *jubón*. Over the top the *majas* would wear something like a *basquiña*, an outer petticoat, often black. Their dresses were accompanied by a tight-fitting bolero with sleeves, a cashmere shawl and gloves. The shimmering, colourful fabrics were often transparent and made of muslin and lace. The "*majo*" outfit comprised three pieces: the *jaqueta* or jacket, a brightly coloured and decorated waistcoat and breeches, with a wide sash round the waist and a hat to keep the hair in place. Men's jackets were short. Instead of wearing a vest under their jacket, they wore a waistcoat, and breeches, but never a wig – this was unthinkable in the 18th century because it was the latest fashion. *Majos* obviously wore their hair long, with long Gitano-style sideburns, and gathered it up in a net, known as a *coleta*. They liked rich, luminous colours, enhanced with coloured braids and beads and somewhat garish buttons. Their clothes were reminiscent of the descriptions of Spanish Romani clothes already mentioned in 16th-century archives in Europe. Another important feature of *majo* attire was the sash round the waist. Both men and women wore a *mantilla*, often made of black lace, in which case it was called "*mantilla de cerco*".

In the foreground of the picture the position of the couple and the other figures is a mystery. Their close proximity suggests that the masked men might be watching over the couple. While the well-lit features of the Romani woman's face are perfectly visible, and her expression, backed up by the movement of her hand, seems to be inviting the man to take her somewhere away from prying eyes. The cloaked, masked men are depicted in less direct light, against a background evocative of places frequented by *bandoleros* (dry tree branch, mineral elements in the adobe wall, the rock one of the men is sitting on). *Majo*, Gitano, *bandolero*, in this period and especially in Goya's work, the models and their identities are hard to tell apart, only their gaze reveals their singularity.

The other thing to notice in *An Avenue in Andalusia* or *The Maja and the Cloaked Men* is the very special relationship the artist develops between his characters, but also with the spectator, through their gazes – what is revealed and what is concealed in order better to be seen.

If something is to be “visible”, it must be placed in sight of the viewer. As Merleau-Ponty explains,<sup>44</sup> in the beginning every being is subjected to a “seeing”. With Lacanian logic he affirms that where form is instituted, the scopic field is formed. Lacan asserts that “in the scopic field the gaze is outside, I am looked at, that is to say I am a picture”.<sup>45</sup> Before seeing we are given to be seen, everyone is observed in the spectacle of the world, by a gaze that is not shown to us. The conscience can only see if it sees itself being seen. Such is the fantasy of Platonian contemplation: that the quality of omnividence should be transferred to an absolute being. His gaze presents itself as a contingency: I am looked at, it is he who triggers my gaze. Which is where the feeling of strangeness begins. The gaze is present, but I do not see what is looked at. The correlate of omnividence is an elision of the gaze. The request to be looked at is in fact that of the mask. I represent myself as being looked at and that is the very essence of the gaze.

The gaze contains within itself the object of scopic satisfaction: a punctiform, evanescent object, one of lack or castration. In Goya’s painting the young Gitana, or *maja*, sees herself being observed by the gazes behind the masks or by us, looking at the painting and observed by the figure in the white veil on the bottom right, who also appears to be external to the scene. It is this crossing of all the gazes that calls us and draws us into this picture, where the margins seem to come together, *Gitanos*, *majos* or *bandoleros*, veiled woman, voyeur/onlooker, spectator. It is in the articulation of the ab-normative relationship and aesthetic fascination that majority societies have with the margins that are sown the seeds of cultural appropriation, which is still at work today and perhaps more than ever before.

The hybrid aesthetic motif created by the interpenetration of the Roma (Gitano) with the *bandolero* is the result of the rise of *bandolerismo* in Spain. The 18th and 19th centuries were Golden Centuries. In understanding this process we are able to historicise some of the events that, in some cases, contributed to the birth of flamenco.

On 12 April 1767, King Carlos III approved the creation of colonies in a vast uninhabited area between the Sierra Morena and the line from Madrid to Cordoba, Seville and Cadiz. In that region depopulation had caused serious

---

44. Merleau-Ponty M. (1964), *L'œil et l'esprit*, Éditions Gallimard, Paris.

45. Lacan L. (1963/4), *Les quatre concepts de la psychanalyse*, Éditions Seuil, Paris.

damage. Much fertile land had been left untended and *bandolerismo* was rife. It was accordingly decided to set up colonies,<sup>46</sup> model farms that enjoyed no privileges whatsoever. In a short space of time more than 6 000 Jesuits were expelled and replaced by 6 000 workers, "all farmers and craftsmen ... Catholic and from the German or Flemish nations". Pablo de Olavide, a great reformer, governor of the region and superintendent of the "new towns", was at the origin of the project. He soon realised that the scheme was doomed to fail. The settlers were not the sort of people they were supposed to be. Pedro Pérez Valiente, former rector of the University of Granada, was commissioned in 1769 to inspect the colonies. He informed the Council that Gaspar Thürriegel, who was responsible for selecting the settlers and bringing them to Spain, had "flooded Andalusia with a considerable number of ne'er-do-wells";<sup>47</sup> very few of whom appeared to be skilled farmers or craftsmen. Finding German Catholic farm workers was no easy task and many of the settlers recruited by Thürriegel to repopulate these uninhabited areas were mercenaries and vagabonds from northern Europe. Many of them soon left again. Those foreigners who arrived young and worked for many years in the colonies were the only ones who contributed to the cultural symbiosis with Andalusian workers fostered by the monarchy.

With regard to this study of Romani history in Spain, it is the fate of those who deserted the colonies that interests us. It is estimated that out of the 8 000 settlers brought to the Sierra Morena colony and the 3 000 brought to the colonies between Cordoba and Seville, 3 000 escaped and became part of Andalusia's fringe society, returning to their lives as "scoundrels and vagrants". But in the eyes of the majority society at the time, this marginal lifestyle was irremediably associated with the Romani socio-economic environment. The regions of the Sierra Morena and La Mancha, because of their social and geographic conditions, were hotbeds of *bandolerismo*. Indeed, the very characteristics of the old régime society encouraged brigandry. In the days of Carlos III the nobility owned half the land in Extremadura and two thirds of that in La Mancha and the kingdom of Seville. All over Andalusia the farming model was the *latifundio*. In these regions the population oscillated between two types of activity: day labour on the farms or begging. This context of social oppression encouraged the development of *bandolerismo*. Setting up these colonies had a direct impact on the life and organisation of the bandits in the Sierra Morena, many of whom were Roma driven into the hills by the discriminatory laws against

---

46. Baroja J. C. (1952), *Las nuevas poblaciones de Sierra Morena y Andalucía. Un experimento sociológico en tiempo de Carlos III*, Revista Clavileno, num. 18.; de Quiros C. B. (1929), *Los reyes y la colonización interior de España desde el siglo XIV al XIX*, Madrid.

47. Atard V. P. (1962), "Nuevas poblaciones andaluzas", *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, vol. 20, Munich.

them mentioned earlier. As living in the mountains became increasingly difficult, the *bandoleros* moved closer to population centres, taking advantage of the desertion of the settlers. In certain cases *bandolerismo* was tinged with Romanticism in the public mind. Diego Corrientes is a fine example. A hero of the common people, he stole from the rich and the tax collectors. The reports of Tomas Cesareo, appointed investigator by the Council from 1737 to 1739 in La Mancha, tell us more about the *bandolerismo* phenomenon. On a number of occasions he refers to teams of decent-looking Gitanos *bandoleros* who were aware of the poverty of the local inhabitants. He often complained about the support and co-operation they received, in particular from certain monks, municipal officials and sometimes even judges.

The *ventas*, *mesones* and inns along the roads were favourite meeting places for *bandoleros*, travellers, local people and foreigners. Even though no mention is made of Gitanos or even *bandoleros* in respect of *The Fight at the Cock Inn* (1777, Fact sheet 11), a preparatory sketch by Goya for the tapestry entitled *The Fight at the New Inn*, the setting and atmosphere of the scene perfectly illustrate a possible meeting place between marginal geography and sociology at the time. In these works the artist depicts a scene from popular life: a fight between mule drivers and wagoners over a game of cards, outside an inn with a woman framed in the half-open doorway. It is a violent scene. The attitudes of the people, their clothing and their gestures all reveal their social condition and where they come from. Their attire tells us that one of the men comes from Murcia and there is a wagoner from Andalusia, showing Goya's rigorous costumbrist analysis and his characteristic interest in realistic illustration. The *ventas* and *mesones*, compulsory stopping places for travellers, were also frequented by brigands and smugglers. The smugglers' roads, particularly those to Gibraltar, which stretched all over lower Andalusia, as well as those of Extremadura and Portugal, were often travelled by Roma.<sup>48</sup> This can still be heard in the spoken and musical heritage today. The inns along roads frequently travelled by Roma thrived on the transport of licit and smuggled goods and this also gave the Roma an opportunity to make a living by singing in public, an activity previously strictly limited to the family circle.

As increasing numbers of Roma moved into a given territory, the lower valley of the Guadalquivir, their culture became a fertile ground for other types of Spanish music and musical forms present in the land, such as the *jota castellana* or the *romance moruno*. The Andalusian Romani style of singing, called *cante jondo*, has its origins in lower Andalusia, in the lower Guadalquivir region. This

---

48. Ruiz Mas J. (2010), "*Guardias civiles, bandoleros, gitanos, guerrilleros, contrabandistas, carabineros y turistas en la literatura inglesa contemporánea (1844-1994)*", *Spanish Perspectives on English and American Literature, Communication and Culture* 5, Bern.

is a fairly narrow stretch of land marked by Seville, Jerez, Cadiz, Puerto Santa María, Puerto Real, San Fernando, Medina Sidonia and Morón. According to the census of 1784, 30% of Spain's Roma population lived in what would later become the provinces of Cadiz and Seville. Smithery and horse-trading were their principal activities. In this region the first Romani *cantaores* were often also mule drivers, horse dealers, blacksmiths, shearers and day labourers. Their singing evolved over the centuries, drawing on various types of Hispanic music, which they often saved from oblivion and some of which they integrated into their own Romani musical repertoire.

Under the reign of Fernando VII (1808-1833) and generally throughout the 19th century, a succession of major events left their mark on the history of the Roma people. There was the War of Independence (1808-1814), the birth of the first Spanish Constitution (1812) and the restoration of "*absolutismo fernandino*". The Spanish Constitution signed in Cadiz on 19 March 1812 considerably altered the legal situation, allowing Gypsies to become Spanish citizens. The new constitution abandoned the former requirement of a fixed abode. From that time on it sufficed to have been born in Spain to be a Spanish citizen – a great step forward, but one that would not last. The return of Fernando VII in May 1814 brought the annulment of the provisions introduced by the Cortes of Cadiz and a return to absolutism, sending the Roma back to square one. Few special laws or provisions were promulgated against Roma in particular. During the reign of Fernando VII compliance with the *Pragmática* of Carlos III would be ordered on two occasions, affecting one of the key activities that forged the Spanish Romani identity: livestock trading.

Trading in livestock, particularly horses, had always been part of the Romani way of life. It gave them mobility and independence, *de facto* attaching them to the well-rewarded military activities they had engaged in a few generations earlier. Other trades one might consider characteristic of their unusual lifestyle, such as smithery, horse-trading, herbal medicine but also music, were closely linked to military activities. In 1837, María Cristina de Bourbon re-established compliance with the measures linked to livestock trading.

The atmosphere in Joaquín Araujo y Ruano's drawing *The Cattle Market* (second half of the 19th century, Fact sheet 15) is particularly evocative. The artist seems to have "captured" his own impressions in a very swift, natural, accurate and precise manner. The 100-odd drawings he produced definitely make up an ethno-anthropographic picture book of popular Spanish life and characters devoid of any criticism or moralising intent. It is this facet of the artist that makes him interesting.

In *The Cattle Market*, in the midst of the horses, the swirls of ink highlighted with watercolour sketch three men, a woman and some children, in Andalusian dress, at the centre of the composition. The main group is huddled in deep discussion, or negotiation. A *guardia civil*, wearing a peaked cap and a but-toned coat, is keeping an eye on them.

During the reign of Alfonso XII (1874-1885), Romani cattle traders were required to present two documents to prove they were the legitimate owners of their animals. One would give the number and description of each animal and the other would be a record of how they had been acquired and from whom (sale, purchase, exchange). Not until 1878 were the previous coercive provisions against the Roma repealed and obligations relating to cattle trading extended to all dealers.

But following a period during which there was no specific legislation aimed at Roma, under Franco's dictatorship (1939-1978) they were banned from speaking *caló*, which was considered a dialect of delinquents, moving around was criminalised, the Social Danger and Rehabilitation Act specifically targeted Roma, and hygiene measures targeting them were introduced.

# Conclusion: the justice of the singular versus the totalitarianism of the truth

---

This museographic journey through the different collections of the Prado helps us realise to what extent the perception of these populations, whose looks, clothes and lifestyle were disconcerting for the native populations, has been used in more recent times, and how models developed and eventually crystallised, leading to the interpretation of a relationship based on alterity, gradually becoming the transcription of a relationship based on exteriority. In the case of Spain this journey also enables us to historicise the mechanisms behind the processes of cultural appropriation of which it is without a doubt the paradigm. Today this country sells itself thanks, among other things, to what may be considered at least as cultural appropriation and at worst as spoliation. Deciphering the mechanisms of alienation, the construction of fears and iconographic inscriptions in the collective imagination through art also makes it possible to measure how Europe's national museographic collections draw on and take part in the elaboration of a political body of images.

To close this study, let us look at *A Gypsy* by Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta (1871, Fact sheet 13). Against a neutral blue-grey background the face of a *flamenca Gitana* woman looks out, decked in all her traditional finery, a bright red carnation in her hair, with deep black eyes and a coral necklace and earrings. Her gaze is steadfast and just. Her pose sculptural, stable, firm. It is alterity in the gaze of the other, as imagined by Levinas, who confronts us with our own finitude, but also with the articulation of the notions of justice and truth through the prism of the relationship between the universal and the particular. For beyond the genealogical and historical approach to Romaphobia and anti-Gypsyism, the purpose of this study is also to redefine the relationship between singularity and universality, a filigree present at the core of any situated study. In the light of a realignment of thinking with regard to the Romani identity, the singular and the universal are revisited by the Romani episteme. Far from being a modality, through the prism of this plural otherness these two concepts can be reconsidered.



"Roma-ness" can only blossom in "pluriversality", through an augmented form of alienating universalism, alone capable of enabling exteriorities – these ferments of power – to express themselves to the full. To quote Paul Ricœur, referring to Spinoza's theorem, "it is when the being is at its most singular that it is able to meet God", which in the language of the philosopher from Amsterdam is like referring to the universal.

In the history of philosophy, at least since Kant, the relationship between the universal and the singular has always been defined as a perfectibility on the horizon of truth. In that perfectibility on the horizon of truth, epistemes that have been minoritised or relegated to the limbo of exteriority, like the Romani episteme, have found themselves isolated in the idea of particularism. Approaching the universal and the particular from a Romani standpoint requires a change of paradigm.

So the Romani episteme must not be considered something determinate, a category of a heteronomic, dogmatic, outside law that needs to be folklorised or converted to correspond to this perfectibility, the horizon of truth that underpins western philosophy. We must imagine another relationship between singularity and universality in order to re-enter the scope of the possible and move from universality to pluriversality. Romani singularity is not "particularism". It is the means to another universal, a universal reached in a different way.

But Roma-ness also means another relationship with truth. In those times when men and women from different Roma groups were subjected to a denial of justice this was no minor consideration. Like many marginal epistemes the Romani episteme considers the universal in its relationship with justice. Justice permits us to move and pierce the concept of truth. The perfectible is a means of relating to the history of truth understood as a coming together, a unification, an origin, and based on the dominant philosophical tradition. All these ways of thinking have reduced Roma-ness to a particularism, a particular determination. The answer to that is not, like the Romani intellectual emancipation movements have done thus far, to clamour that the Roma and their intellectuals are equally capable of thinking universal. Instead, Roma intellectuals should be thinking about reformulating the relationship between singular and universal in a very different way. This reassessment also needs to take another paradigm into account, that of the multiple forms of Roma-ness. The Romani being challenges the notion of identity, taking position outside the essentialism versus universalism dialectic. If we think of justice as something dissociated from truth, that makes justice the modality whereby singulars become multiples. It means calling on a significance other than that circumscribed by truth, which marks a fixed, determined identity. It means,

on the contrary, questioning the significance of multiplicities as we do that of singularities.

Throughout this analysis, therefore, we have been talking not about truth but about justice. Justice that means returning to the three powers cited by Paul Ricœur that we mentioned in the introduction: the power to say, to act and to tell. Far from wanting to draw an illustrated historical genealogy of the expiatory victim as embodied in the Roma, the Manouche, the Sinto and the Rom, the exercise proposed here requires an effort of differentiation of the typologies of rejection. Indeed, if the theory of the scapegoat focuses thinking about rejection on the most extreme forms of violence, also suffered on numerous occasions by the different Roma groups (the Great Round-up, for example, and the Porrajmos, the genocide perpetrated against the Roma during the Second World War), this focalisation ignores the insidious violences of exclusion, stigmatisation, hygienism and internment that make massacres and persecutions possible, and does not take into account the machinery of power or the fear of the imperceptibly other. The reality of Romani alterity lies in an oscillation, to the rhythm of history, between an imagined radical otherness and the idea of “another who is imperceptibly other”;<sup>49</sup> where the imperceptible stirs up all kinds of hate.

In these times, when it is unfortunately impossible to re-examine discourse on identity with serenity, the “Roma question” and the use of that term no longer even surprise because it is obvious for us to consider Romani alterity as *de facto* ab-normality. The epistemological root, the cultural identity, the ontological koine of the different Roma groups in Europe is denied. However, challenging the notion of a “Roma question” does not mean ceasing to think about Romani essentialism. On the contrary, it means denouncing the identification of a person as a Roma by an external being, be it a Romaphobe or an institution with its normative approach. Beyond its posture, this way of looking at the paradox is actually philosophical. While objecting to someone or something external identifying a human being as Roma is legitimate, it does not mean we cannot talk about an ontological form of plural identity. It does not mean one cannot be Roma even though one cannot offer a definition of it. While the “Romani question” implies ontological reflection, while “being” is the most natural thing there is, for the different Roma groups that is not necessarily evident, as the paradigm is in the question. This ontological paradox is related to what Jankélévitch says in his work on “quoddity” and “quiddity”. Romanipen, the sense of belonging to the Roma people, can be viewed

---

49. Berlowitz B. and Jankélévitch V. (1978), *Quelque part dans l'inachevé*, Éditions Gallimard, Paris.

through this lens. Quoddity is the fact of being; quiddity is the way of being. Romanipen is therefore a “*je-ne-sais-quoi*”,<sup>50</sup> the cornerstone of Jankélévitch’s philosophy, something that is but to which we cannot give a meaning. Such fun, rhetorically thumbing one’s nose at the experts and Romologists who cannot conceive of this “inexpressibility” in the light of the thinking of one of the greatest contemporary philosophers...neither folklore nor common memory, or so little...it is this “*je-ne-sais-quoi*”, this imperceptibility of being other that kindles hate, for what we cannot grasp is also daunting.

Today, as yesterday, the Roma resemble and dissemble. The “hominity” of man is “to be similar and different”.<sup>51</sup> Throughout their history the Roma have been locked in a difference they carry in them but which is and remains denied as a living alterity. To think of anti-Gypsyism and Romaphobia as a species in a genre would be to show conceptual laziness. Pseudo-rational systematisation would consist in thinking there is a transcendental consciousness floating over history. The importance given to the distinction is not a concern for hierarchy but a condemnation of the pseudo-scientific use of the term “racism”. To conceptualise racism is to banalise its effects. To make anti-Gypsyism and Romaphobia forms of racism out of concern for benevolent universalism is what comes of abandoning differential thinking, of intellectual laziness, of denying the all-important “almost nothing”, the similar that is not the same. Subsuming Roma within a broader category prevents us from understanding anti-Gypsyism, negrophobia, Islamophobia, anti-Semitism and racism. However, modern-day Romaphobia and anti-Gypsyism do have a racial foundation, which is what differentiates them from their historical forms. The genocidal episode of the Great Round-up of 1749 was where it started. To deny this racial characteristic would be to ignore what makes the Porrajmos unique. Yet that cannot serve as a pretext for what makes the singularity of anti-Gypsyism, what distinguishes it from other forms of racism. It is the combination of imperceptibility and ab-normativity that makes the specificity of anti-Gypsyism and Romaphobia. The majority societies have a moral responsibility towards history and the process of marginalisation of minority epistemes. The desire for ontological autonomy is powerful for Romani generations. Unfortunately, other forms of alienation are now at work or soon will be. The quest for autonomy, in the sense of abiding by one’s own law, comes up against a heteronomy (abiding by another’s law) the aim of which is not so much to annoy or oppress as to nourish and satisfy, the better to subdue. Good sense and common sense are not enough: “only a truly

---

50. Jankélévitch V. (1981), *Le Je-ne-sais-quoi et le Presque-rien*, T3-*La manière et l’occasion*, Point.

51. Jankélévitch V. (1967/2015), “L’antisémitisme n’est pas un racisme”, lecture published in *L’esprit de résistance*, Albin Michel, pp. 132-33.

critical and genealogical approach can address the complex combinations of activity and passivity, of command and obedience, of desire and capture of desire that attend the constitution of a subjectivity".<sup>52</sup>

And to conclude this subject, the last work in the Prado collection, *Where do we go now? (Bosnians)* by Joaquín Araujo y Ruano, from 1884 (Fact sheet 14) is a picture of extreme weariness, exhaustion of body and soul, terrible in its resemblance to what we see every day on the streets of Europe's cities. This Roma family, the painter tells us, are Bosnians sleeping the sleep of the world-weary: the parents sitting, the little girl strapped to a mule and the boy, his face flat against a tambourine, too far gone even to feel the agile fingers of the monkey searching his hair for lice. Seeing the sleep of the other here is not just contemplation but also tension.

Yet faced with this image one can also imagine that their dream, even if it is terrible, even if it is a flight, is also the potential substrate of a budding power to act. It is possible to imagine that the alienated being, if he is not completely broken, will wake up and realise the value of his culture, his "living" culture that was there before the modern era, during the modern era, and will outlive it, thereby reinterpreting Spinoza's concept of "*potentia*".<sup>53</sup>

Contemporary thinking about the nature of power emerged as a central theme of contemporary philosophy with Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. These intellectuals deciphered the myriad mechanisms and strategies of deployment by which powers infiltrate and permeate the whole social, political and individual fabric. Their analysis and the way they "rethink" the concept leads us to reconsider the forms of the established powers and the practical alternatives to the institutionalisation of how we relate to them. All their thinking is based on a rereading of Spinoza's *The Ethics*.

In the 18th century, Spinoza proposed an effective alternative to the prevailing concept of power. A distinct, lasting, efficacious alternative, namely the organisation, the recognition and the self-recognition of societies by themselves. His theory hinges on two ideas: *potentia* (strength) and *potesta* (power). *Potentia* is inner plenitude and mastery. *Potesta*, on the other hand, is external power, the essence of which is to exercise a force of intervention over others. Modern history has made it a veritable strike force against all dissidence.

Spinoza's concept of *potentia* goes beyond the idea of an aggregate or a constellation of resistances, or the networking of individual forces and potentialities. It is a real dynamic of organisation founded on solid metaphysical and

---

52. Astor D. (2016), *Deviens ce que tu es, pour une vie philosophique*, Éditions Autrement.

53. Spinoza B. (1849), *Ethique*, (tr.) Saisset E.

cosmogonic bases. For Spinoza, *potentia* acts on a specific collective dimension capable of generating a society free to structure itself.

It is interesting in this perspective to consider a Romani reading of Spinoza's thinking. The passage from inner power to submission to external power plays out on this porous but selective border that traditionally distinguishes an "inside" from a "margin". It is this "inside" that is paramount to the Roma. Before the strike force of the state, in the modern-day logic of rationalism, set about smoothing out all the vernacular thresholds in the interest of new frontiers, nobody challenged the other's need for and exercise of freedom of movement and the limits he observed of his own accord. This capacity for filtering porosity is the basis of any recognition of the other. It is essential that we reconquer this lost capacity, which has been rejected and even ridiculed both by science and by modern political theory. Against science and its fallout on common language, the empty, plastic words the experts like to bandy about, we need to talk about the "inside", the world as we live it, inter-subjectively shared. However, this renunciation of the easy way out must go hand in hand with renewed vigilance in the face of the solutions proposed. Remember the words of Ivan Illich: "The same institutional structure supports the peaceful war on poverty and the bloody war on dissidence."<sup>54</sup>

When we ask ourselves about the nature of the "Romani identity" we actually reinterpret Spinoza's *potesta/potentia* paradigm. The true power of a cultural or ethnic minority, without any doubt, is its awareness of its *potentia*. And full awareness of the power of its idiosyncrasy brings full awareness of its episteme, its being in the world. There is no weapon more powerful or more devastating than that which destroys the *potentia* and the episteme of a people in order to enslave it to an imposed body of norms. Different bodies of knowledge may clash, but unlike open wars, the resulting conflagration generally takes the form of an insidious interpretation in which the weak must "refunctionalise" their own knowledge under the cloak of the dominant episteme.

An episteme is a body of knowledge that gives form to what is perceived and known. More than a corpus, in the Roman imperial sense, it is rather a soma, a feeling body perceived carnally from the inside rather than abstractly, as a spectacular form delimited from the outside. It is a vision from the inside, a tissue of reciprocity, a compenetration of intimate perceptions and means of subsistence, a shared vision of what is needed, here and now, an expression of the common sense of people who share a same mental, cognitive and cosmogonic universe.

---

54. Illich I. (1973), *La convivialité*, Éditions Seuil, Paris.

Inside a given episteme the other, the person who comes from outside, is never completely unknown, never a complete stranger. They occupy a special place, facing us. The walls of the episteme are porous, of course: they filter and retain, let through and transform, domesticating outside input. This definition of the nature of the episteme will no doubt ring a bell for anyone familiar with the concept of Romanipen. As modernity cannot impose whatever it wishes on the minority, a dialogue arises, permitting the selection and appropriation of everything useful it has to offer each one.

But *Where do we go now?* is also the revolt of the oppressed, that of Caliban who in Act Three, Scene Two of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*<sup>55</sup> says:

Be not afraid. The isle is full of noises,  
Sounds, and sweet airs that give delight and hurt not.  
Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments  
Will hum about mine ears, and sometime voices  
That if I then had waked after long sleep  
Will make me sleep again; and then, in dreaming  
The clouds methought would open and show riches  
Ready to drop upon me, that when I waked  
I cried to dream again.

The correspondence lies not only in the reference to the sleep of the underdog but also in a semantic detour to another of the intrigues of Romology, the opinion that makes Caliban "*Kaliban/kalipen*", "blackness" in the Romani language. The exegetes of this Romani theory of the etymology of the name given to the most racist and powerfully rebellious character in the playwright's work takes us back to the England of the Tudors and Stuarts, the edicts of 1562, 1572, 1597 against Bohemians and vagrants.

Birth is overtaken by the exaltation of life. The Roma people are ontologically gifted with life, perhaps more than any other. As in Nietzsche, for the different Roma groups life is an aesthetic theodicy. In the Romani "being in the world" we find the exaltation of the terror of existing in the unbreakable bond that exists between suffering and joy. This exaltation is found in art and art surpasses nihilism. In the drawing *Three Gypsies* by Pérez Villamil (1840, Fact sheet 12) all three figures wear a vitalistic smile. In order not to attribute these smiles to Villamil's incipient Orientalism, it is perhaps preferable to see in them the Romani vitalist experience. For Nietzsche living lucidly means facing tragedy, the dissolution of the subject in destiny. Is the Romani experience of being in the world not largely lived and envisioned in the same way?

---

55. Césaire A., *Une tempête*, Éditions Seuil, Paris.

Art is the vector by which a tragic vision of life may express itself and take shape without passing through the philtre of the concept. Art in Nietzschean philosophy reveals the essence of man. It is a tragic metaphysical revelation.

This revelation requires intuitive certainty in addition to logical understanding; a sort of aesthetic intuition of life. More serious than thinking, art imposes on us the suffering of its subject. Consciousness, being the loss of innocence, cannot achieve the lightness of the body. Nietzsche says that "Singing and dancing, man expresses himself as a member of a higher community"<sup>56</sup>. Only art makes tragic existence and living in tragedy bearable, that is to say helps us, in the full experience of our being, not to lose touch with the most intimate essence of the world.

---

56. Friedrich Nietzsche, *La naissance de la tragédie*, Éditions Gallimard, Paris, 1986

# The catalogue and photo credits

---

## 1. Hieronymus Bosch (1450-1516)

*The Haywain Triptych* (1512-1515)

INVP002052

Room 056A



## 2. Joachim Patinir (1480-1524)

*Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (1518-1520)

INVP001611

Room 055A



## 3. Joachim Patinir (1480-1524), Quinten Metsys (1465-1530)

*The Temptations of Saint Anthony the Abbot*

(1520-1524)

INVP001615

Room 055A





**4. Raffaello Sanzio (Raphael) (1483-1520),  
Giulio Romano (1499-1546)**

*The Holy Family/La Perla* (1518)  
INVP000301  
Room 049



**5. Raffaello Sanzio (Raphael) (1483-1520),  
Giulio Romano (1499-1546),  
Giovanni Penni (1496-1528)**

*The Visitation* (1517)  
INVP000300  
Room 049



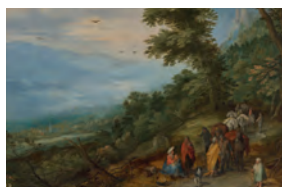
**6. Pieter Brueghel the Elder (1525-1569)**

*The Triumph of Death* (1562-1563)  
INVP001393  
Room 056



**7. Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625)**

*Mule Train and Gypsies in a Forest* (1612)  
Oil on copperplate (36 x 43 cm)  
INVP001432  
Not displayed



**8. David Teniers II (1610-1690)**

*Landscape with Gypsies* (1641-1645)  
INVP001818  
Not displayed



**9. Pietro Giacomo Palmieri (1737-1804)**

*Gypsy Family* (18th century)

INVD001240

Not displayed



**10. Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (1746-1828)**

*An Avenue in Andalusia or The Maja and the Cloaked Men* (1777)

INVP000771

Room 087



**11. Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (1746-1828)**

*The Fight at the Cock Inn* (1777)

INVP007801

Room 086



**12. Genaro Pérez Vilaamil y Duguet (1807-1854)**

*Three Gypsies* (1840)

INVD06404/019-02

Not displayed



**13. Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta (1841-1920)**

*A Gypsy* (1871)

INVP002620

Room 062



14. Joaquín Araujo y Ruano (1851-1894)

*Where do we go now?*(Bosnians) (1884)

INVP006881

Not displayed



15. Joaquín Araujo y Ruano (1851-1894)

*The Cattle Market* (second half of the 19th century)

INVD04852

Not displayed





- Spanish Painting 1100 - 1910
- German Painting 1450 - 1550
- Sculpture
- Flemish Painting 1430 - 1570
- Italian Painting 1300 - 1600
- Temporary Exhibitions

**JERÓNIMOS BUILDING**  
TEMPORARY EXHIBITIONS (A-B)

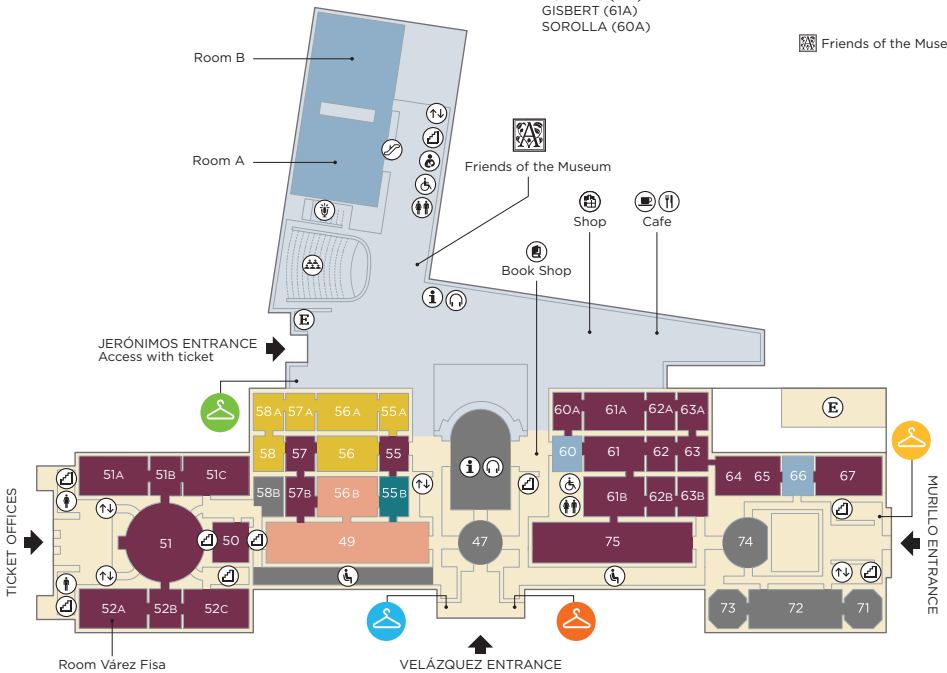
- Lectures Room
- Auditorium
- Prado Cafe
- Prado Shop

**VILLANUEVA BUILDING**  
TEMPORARY EXHIBITIONS  
PAINTINGS 1100 - 1910  
AND SCULPTURE

- ROMANESQUE CHAPELS (51C)
- BERRUGUETE (57B)
- VAN DER WEYDEN (58)
- BOSCH (56A)
- DÜRER (55B)
- RAPHAEL (49)
- GOYA (64-67)
- ROSALES (61B)
- GISBERT (61A)
- SOROLLA (60A)

- Information
- Cloakroom
- Audio Guide
- Auditorium
- Lectures Room
- Education
- Lift
- Escalator
- Stairs
- Toilets
- Adapted Toilets
- Breastfeeding room
- Rest Area
- Prado Cafe
- Restaurant
- Prado Shop
- Book Shop

Friends of the Museum













# 1

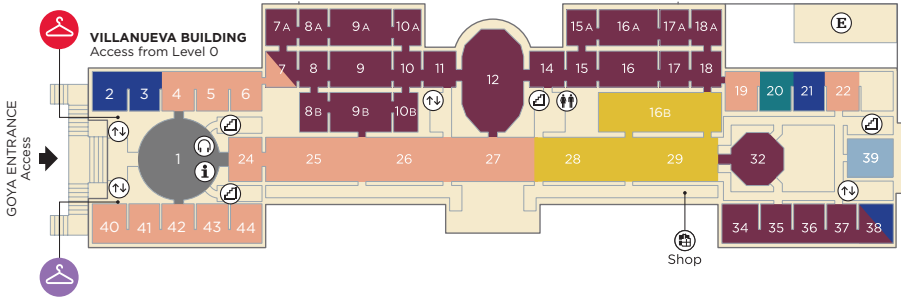
- Spanish Painting 1550–1810
- German Painting 1750–1800
- French Painting 1600–1800
- Flemish Painting 1600–1700
- Italian Painting 1450–1800
- Sculpture
- Temporary Exhibitions

**JERÓNIMOS BUILDING**  
TEMPORARY EXHIBITIONS (C-D)

**VILLANUEVA BUILDING**  
PAINTINGS 1550–1810

- GRECO (8B-10B)
- TIZIANO (24-27, 41-44)
- TINTORETTO (25, 41, 44)
- CARAVAGGIO (6)
- POUSSIN (2-4)
- LORENA (2)
- VOUET (2-3)
- RUBENS (28-29)
- VELÁZQUEZ (9A, 10-15, 15A)
- MAINO (7A, 9A, 8B, 9B)
- RIBERA (1, 7-9)
- MURILLO (16-17)
- GOYA (32, 34-38)
- MENGS (20)
- TIEPOLO (19)

-  Information
-  Cloakroom
-  Audio Guide
-  Lift
-  Escalator
-  Stairs
-  Toilets
-  Adapted Toilets
-  First Aid
-  Shop








# 2

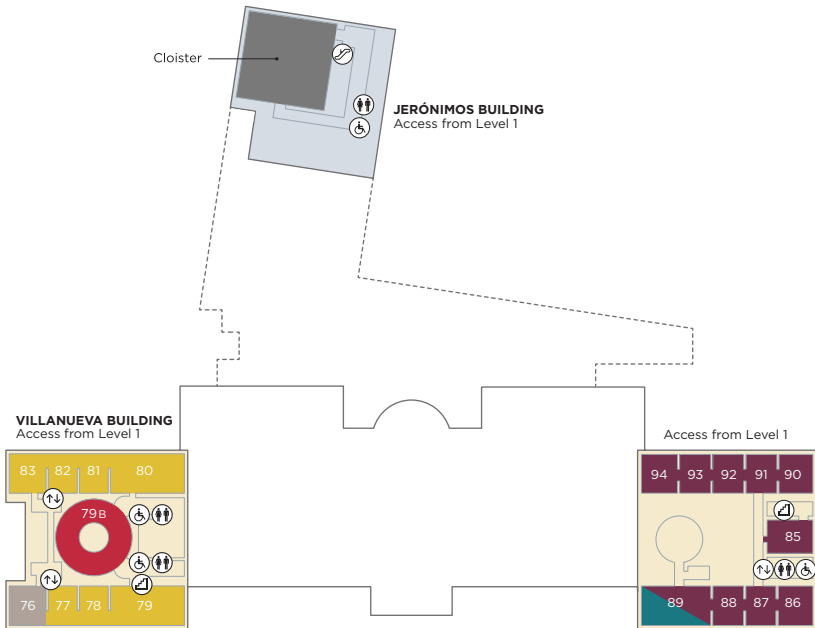
- Flemish Painting 1600 - 1700
- Dutch Painting 1600 - 1695
- Spanish Painting 1700 - 1800
- German Painting 1750 - 1800
- Decorative Arts
- Sculpture

**JERÓNIMOS BUILDING**  
SCULPTURE  
LEONI (CLOISTER)

**VILLANUEVA BUILDING**  
PAINTINGS 1700 - 1800  
AND DECORATIVE ARTS

- RUBENS (78-79, 83)
- REMBRANDT (76)
- JAN BRUEGHEL (83)
- GOYA (85-87, 90-92, 94)
- MENGS (89)
- TREASURE OF THE DAUPHIN (79B)

-  Lift
-  Escalator
-  Stairs
-  Toilets
-  Adapted Toilets



# Sales agents for publications of the Council of Europe Agents de vente des publications du Conseil de l'Europe

## BELGIUM/BELGIQUE

La Librairie Européenne -  
The European Bookshop  
Rue de l'Orme, 1  
BE-1040 BRUXELLES  
Tel.: + 32 (0)2 231 04 35  
Fax: + 32 (0)2 735 08 60  
E-mail: [info@libeurop.eu](mailto:info@libeurop.eu)  
<http://www.libeurop.be>

Jean De Lannoy/DL Services  
c/o Michot Warehouses  
Bergense steenweg 77  
Chaussée de Mons  
BE-1600 SINT PIETERS LEEUW  
Fax: + 32 (0)2 706 52 27  
E-mail: [jean.de.lannoy@dl-servi.com](mailto:jean.de.lannoy@dl-servi.com)  
<http://www.jean-de-lannoy.be>

## CANADA

Renouf Publishing Co. Ltd.  
22-1010 Polytek Street  
CDN-OTTAWA, ONT K1J 9J1  
Tel.: + 1 613 745 2665  
Fax: + 1 613 745 7660  
Toll-Free Tel.: (866) 767-6766  
E-mail: [order.dept@renoufbooks.com](mailto:order.dept@renoufbooks.com)  
<http://www.renoufbooks.com>

## CROATIA/CROATIE

Robert's Plus d.o.o.  
Marasovičeva 67  
HR-21000 SPLIT  
Tel.: + 385 21 315 800, 801, 802, 803  
Fax: + 385 21 315 804  
E-mail: [robertsplus@robertsplus.hr](mailto:robertsplus@robertsplus.hr)

## CZECH REPUBLIC/RÉPUBLIQUE TCHÈQUE

Suweco CZ, s.r.o.  
Klecakova 347  
CZ-180 21 PRAHA 9  
Tel.: + 420 2 424 59 204  
Fax: + 420 2 848 21 646  
E-mail: [import@suweco.cz](mailto:import@suweco.cz)  
<http://www.suweco.cz>

## DENMARK/DANEMARK

GAD  
Vimmelskaftejt 32  
DK-1161 KØBENHAVN K  
Tel.: + 45 77 66 60 00  
Fax: + 45 77 66 60 01  
E-mail: [reception@gad.dk](mailto:reception@gad.dk)  
<http://www.gad.dk>

## FINLAND/FINLANDE

Akateeminen Kirjakauppa  
PO Box 128  
Keskuskatu 1  
FI-00100 HELSINKI  
Tel.: + 358 (0)9 121 4430  
Fax: + 358 (0)9 121 4242  
E-mail: [akatilaus@akateeminen.com](mailto:akatilaus@akateeminen.com)  
<http://www.akateeminen.com>

## FRANCE

Please contact directly /  
Merci de contacter directement  
Council of Europe Publishing  
Éditions du Conseil de l'Europe  
F-67075 STRASBOURG Cedex  
Tel.: + 33 (0)3 88 41 25 81  
Fax: + 33 (0)3 88 41 39 10  
E-mail: [publishing@coe.int](mailto:publishing@coe.int)  
<http://book.coe.int>

Librairie Kléber  
1, rue des Francs-Bourgeois  
F-67000 STRASBOURG  
Tel.: + 33 (0)3 88 15 78 88  
Fax: + 33 (0)3 88 15 78 80  
E-mail: [librairie-kléber@coe.int](mailto:librairie-kléber@coe.int)  
<http://www.librairie-kléber.com>

## NORWAY/NORVÈGE

Akademika  
Postboks 84 Blindern  
NO-0314 OSLO  
Tel.: + 47 2 218 8100  
Fax: + 47 2 218 8103  
E-mail: [support@akademika.no](mailto:support@akademika.no)  
<http://www.akademika.no>

## POLAND/POLOGNE

Ars Polona JSC  
25 Obroncow Street  
PL-03-933 WARSZAWA  
Tel.: + 48 (0)22 509 86 00  
Fax: + 48 (0)22 509 86 10  
E-mail: [arspolona@arspolona.com.pl](mailto:arspolona@arspolona.com.pl)  
<http://www.arspolona.com.pl>

## PORTUGAL

Marka Lda  
Rua dos Correeiros 61-3  
PT-1100-162 LISBOA  
Tel: 351 21 3224040  
Fax: 351 21 3224044  
E mail: [apoio.clientes@marka.pt](mailto:apoio.clientes@marka.pt)  
[www.marka.pt](http://www.marka.pt)

## RUSSIAN FEDERATION/ FÉDÉRATION DE RUSSIE

Ves Mir  
17b, Butlerova ul. - Office 338  
RU-117342 MOSCOW  
Tel.: + 7 495 739 0971  
Fax: + 7 495 739 0971  
E-mail: [orders@vesmirbooks.ru](mailto:orders@vesmirbooks.ru)  
<http://www.vesmirbooks.ru>

## SWITZERLAND/SUISSE

Planetis Sàrl  
16, chemin des Pins  
CH-1273 ARZIER  
Tel.: + 41 22 366 51 77  
Fax: + 41 22 366 51 78  
E-mail: [info@planetis.ch](mailto:info@planetis.ch)

## TAIWAN

Tycoon Information Inc.  
5th Floor, No. 500, Chang-Chun Road  
Taipei, Taiwan  
Tel.: 886-2-8712 8886  
Fax: 886-2-8712 4747, 8712 4777  
E-mail: [info@tycoon-info.com.tw](mailto:info@tycoon-info.com.tw)  
[orders@tycoon-info.com.tw](mailto:orders@tycoon-info.com.tw)

## UNITED KINGDOM/ROYAUME-UNI

The Stationery Office Ltd  
PO Box 29  
GB-NORWICH NR3 1GN  
Tel.: + 44 (0)870 600 5522  
Fax: + 44 (0)870 600 5533  
E-mail: [book.enquiries@tso.co.uk](mailto:book.enquiries@tso.co.uk)  
<http://www.tsoshop.co.uk>

## UNITED STATES and CANADA/ ÉTATS-UNIS et CANADA

Manhattan Publishing Co  
670 White Plains Road  
USA-10583 SCARSDALE, NY  
Tel: + 1 914 472 4650  
Fax: + 1 914 472 4316  
E-mail: [coe@manhattanpublishing.com](mailto:coe@manhattanpublishing.com)  
<http://www.manhattanpublishing.com>

Council of Europe Publishing/Éditions du Conseil de l'Europe  
F-67075 STRASBOURG Cedex

Tel.: + 33 (0)3 88 41 25 81 – Fax: + 33 (0)3 88 41 39 10 – E-mail: [publishing@coe.int](mailto:publishing@coe.int) – Website: <http://book.coe.int>

The Council of Europe is a key player in the fight to respect the rights and equal treatment of Roma and Travellers. As such, it implements various actions aimed at combating discrimination: facilitating the access of Roma and Travellers to public services and justice; giving visibility to their history, culture and languages; and ensuring their participation in the different levels of decision making.

Another aspect of the Council of Europe's work is to improve the wider public's understanding of Roma and their place in Europe. Knowing and understanding Roma and Travellers, their customs, their professions, their history, their migration and the laws affecting them are indispensable elements for interpreting the situation of Roma and Travellers today and understanding the discrimination they face.

This publication focuses on what the works exhibited at the Prado Museum tell us about the place and perception of Roma in Europe from the 15th to the 19th centuries.

Students aged 12 to 18, teachers, and any other visitor to the Prado interested in this theme, will find detailed worksheets on 15 paintings representing Roma and Travellers and a booklet to foster reflection on the works and their context, while creating links with our contemporary perception of Roma and Travellers in today's society.

PREMS 005220

ENG

**www.coe.int**

The Council of Europe is the continent's leading human rights organisation. It comprises 47 member states, including all members of the European Union. All Council of Europe member states have signed up to the European Convention on Human Rights, a treaty designed to protect human rights, democracy and the rule of law. The European Court of Human Rights oversees the implementation of the Convention in the member states.



**<http://book.coe.int>**  
ISBN 978-92-871-8993-6  
€30/US\$60

COUNCIL OF EUROPE



CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE